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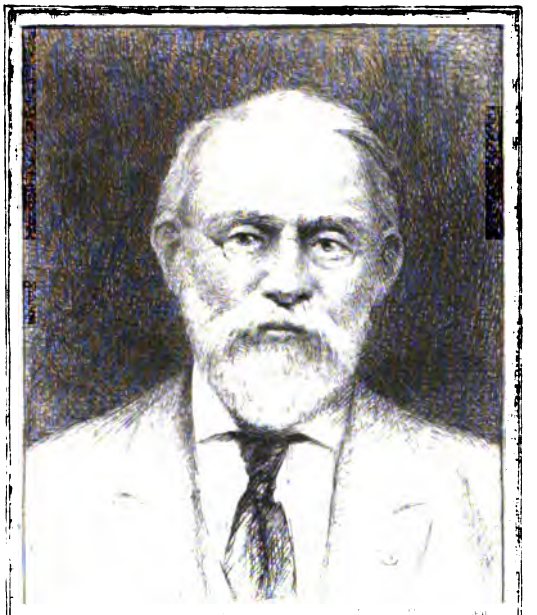

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THREE
DISSERTATIONS;
ONE
On the CHARACTERS of
Auguſtus, Horace and *Agrippa*,
With a Compariſon between
His two Miniſters *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, by the Abbe *de Vertot.*

To which is added,
Some Reflections on the Characters of *Auguſtus*, *Mæcenas* and *Horace*, and on the Works of *Horace*, by the Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

With a *Print* from an ancient Painting, repreſenting *Auguſtus*, *Agrippa*, *Mæcenas* and *Horace.*

ANOTHER
On the Gallery of *Verres*, by the Abbe *Fraguier*, in which many excellent Pieces of ancient Statuary, Sculpture and Painting are deſcribed.

A THIRD
On the Nature, Origin and Uſe of Masks, in theatrical Repreſentations among the Ancients, by Mr. *Boindin.*

WITH
A Print from a fine antique Bas-relief, lately diſcover'd at *Rome*, repreſenting ancient Actors in their Masks, with a Muſician playing on the double *Tibia.*

LONDON:
Printed for R. DODSLEY, at *Tully's* Head, in *Pall-Mall.*
MDCCXL.

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TO

RICHARD MEAD, *M. D.*

Physician to his Majesty.

© 7-8-42 GS

SIR,

THE Discourses I beg Leave to inscribe to you in Acknowledgment of the highest Obligations, will, I make no doubt, be reckoned by you and all good Judges of polite Literature, worthy of being translated into our Language; especially since they appear in it with Ornaments so suit-

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ted to the Subjects, *viz.* A Print repreſenting *Auguſtus*, attended with *M. Agrippa*, *Mæcenas*, and, as ſome not without Reaſon think, *Horace*, giving a Crown, probably to *Phraates*,

> ------*jus imperiumque* Phraates
> Cæſaris *accepit genibus minor.*
>
> HOR. Ep. L. 1. Ep. 12.

done after an ancient Painting in your curious and elegant Collections; to which, in one highly-valuable Branch of Antiquity, there is none in the World equal: For no where even in *Italy*, are there now ſo many well-preſerv'd Pieces of ancient Painting: Thoſe, which while they adorned the Palace of the *Maſſimi* at *Rome*, were juſtly eſteemed amongſt the moſt curious Remains Time or Barbarity had left undeſtroy'd, are now, all of them, where every *Briton* who loves the Arts, will rejoice to know they are placed; being carefully preſerved in a Library, to which that Character is univerſally acknowledged to be due, which *Cicero* gives of one of the beſt Collections in the World at his Time, as what render'd it truly an Honour to its Maſter,

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Maſter, *Sic ornata, ut urbi quoque eſſet ornamento* †.

Another Plate exhibiting ancient Actors upon the Stage in their Masks, done from a very exact and elegant Drawing of a very beautiful Bas-relief lately diſcovered at *Rome*, which being well worthy of a Place in the ſame excellent Collection would likewiſe have been procured for you had it been poſſible.

*Marcus Agrippa**, whoſe many other great Qualities are painted out to us in the Firſt of theſe Diſſertations by a very maſterly Hand, (*L' Abbe de Vertot*) was ſuch an intelligent and zealous Patron and Encourager of the polite Arts, that he publiſhed an Oration againſt thoſe pretended Admirers of them in his Time, who locking up and impriſoning *Greek* Buſts, Statues, Bas-reliefs and Pictures in their Town-Cabinets and Country Villa's, and cruelly denying

† Hujus domus eſt vel optima *Meſſanæ*, notiſſima certe, & noſtris hominibus apertiſſima maximeque hoſpitalis. Ea domus, ante adventum iſtius, ſic ornata fuit, ut urbi quoque eſſet ornamento.——*Meſſanam* ut quiſque noſtrum venerat, hæc viſere ſolebat: omnibus hæc ad viſendum patebant quotidie: Domus erat non Domino magis ornamento quam civitati. *Cicero in Verrem.* 4.

* *M. Agrippa*, vir ruſticitati propior quam deliciis. Extat certe ejus oratio magnifica & maximo civium digna, de tabulis omnibus ſigniſque publicandis: quod fieri ſatius fuiſſet, quam in Villarum exilia pelli. *Pliny*, *L.* 35.

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nying the Curious free Acceſs to ſtudy and examine them, acted in down-right Contradiction to the chief Uſes for which Perſons of truly good Taſte collect and preſerve ſuch Remains; *Namely*, The Ambition to excel in the Arts of Deſign, which ſometimes were, and always may be employ'd to very uſeful and noble Purpoſes, an attentive Conſideration of the Antique never fails to excite in Minds, where natural Genius only waits a Call to diſcloſe it ſelf: Aſſiſtance to ingenious Students of theſe Arts in that laudable Purſuit: and to mention no more, the Helps which may be continually derived from ancient Paintings and Sculptures for the right underſtanding of ancient Authors; the Poets in particular, by thoſe, who uniting Skill in Hiſtory and Antiquity, and a good Taſte in the Arts of Deſign, with Knowledge of the ancient Languages cultivate the Study of polite Literature in the ſureſt as well as the largeſt and moſt entertaining Manner.

Pliny, not improbably, uſes *M. Agrippa*'s own Phraſe, when he emphatically calls that barbarous Practice, exiling the beſt Productions of the ingenious Arts, and robbing the Publick of the beſt Rouzers and Awakeners of Genius

and

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and Taſte, and the beſt Models for perfectionating them ‡. *Cicero*, who appears by many of his Letters to *Atticus* and other Friends, and indeed throughout all his Writings to have been an equally knowing and warm Lover of the fine Arts, and of all polite Learning, as as well as deeply vers'd in the more abſtruſe and profound Sciences, inveighs with great Warmth and Eloquence, on ſeveral Occaſions, againſt the Iniquity and Inhumanity of thoſe, whoſe Fortunes enabled them to make Collections of Antiquities, if they did not allow the moſt favourable and gracious Admittance to all to ſtudy them, who were capable of being inſtructed by them, or making uſeful Reflexions upon them: And he often lays it down as a ſure Mark and Characteriſtick by which one who was prompted by intelligent Love of Arts and Letters, and guided by good Taſte in purchaſing their beſt Productions, might be diſtinguiſhed

‡ *Pliny ibidem.* He has ſeveral Phraſes to the ſame Purpoſe, which are very ſtrong, *ingenia hominum rempublicam fecit*, ſpeaking of the publick Library, eſtabliſhed by *Aſinius Pollio.* See what he ſays of *M. Varro*, *Benigniſſimo invento*, —— *inventor muneris etiam Diis invidioſi, &c.* Speaking of the ancient *Greek* Painters, he ſays, *omnium eorum ars urbibus excubabat, pictorque res communis terrarum fuit.* Speaking of *Fabulus* a *Roman* Painter he calls *Nero*'s Palace, *Carcer ejus artis.* Several Paſſages of *Cicero* in the ſame Strain, are quoted in the Diſcourſe on the Gallery of *Verres*.

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guiſhed from him, who does it merely for Oſtentation, or to enrich and embelliſh his Houſe with rare and coſtly Furniture; that he will be perceiv'd, by his obliging Reception of all ingenious Men, and his cordial Readineſs to encourage and promote every uſeful or ingenious Undertaking, to have collected them purely that he might have the Pleaſure to render them of publick Utility in exciting Praiſeworthy Emulation, and aſſiſting ingenious uſeful Studies.

That this, SIR, is your generous Motive in daily adding to one of the beſt choſen and moſt valuable Collections of Books, Medals, Buſts, Statues, Paintings and Drawings that is any where to be ſeen, all who know you tell with Pleaſure. It is not only the univerſal Language at Home of all among us who have any Regard for Letters or any of the ingenious Arts: But even Abroad you are amongſt the firſt that is named, when the Converſation turns upon a Subject to which learned and ingenious Foreigners, in their great Politeneſs are apt to lead it; the Encouragement of Learning and Ingenuity in *England*.

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I never enter into your Library without wiſhing moſt ardently, that ſome Perſon equal to the Task would give us a juſt Deſcription of the many valuable Antiquities and Maſter-pieces of Art in it. It would furniſh a very agreeable Occaſion to one perfectly well acquainted with ancient Learning and the fine Arts to enter into ſeveral very pleaſant as well as uſeful Diſcuſſions: And there cannot certainly be a more engaging or effectual Way of diſplaying the Beauties of the polite Arts, and ſhewing the chief Uſes of their Productions, than by a judicious Account of a good Collection, to which every Perſon of Taſte may have free Acceſs as often as he pleaſes, to compare the Deſcription with the Original. Had we ſuch an Academy here for the Improvement of the *Belles-Lettres* as that at *Paris*, (to which the Diſcourſes I have *Engliſhed*, were read,) to deſcribe your's and ſome other Collections in *England*, would be one of their firſt, uſefulleſt, and pleaſanteſt Employments: And ſhall we ſo ſervilely imitate the *French* almoſt in every thing but their Zeal to cultivate and promote polite Literature in all its Branches, by the Eſtabliſhment

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of Academies on Purpoſe, not only in *Paris*, but in all their great Towns.

As none better deſerves to have it in his Power, ſo none, SIR, is better qualified to make a good Collection, whether of Books or of Antiquities; ſo thoroughly converſant are you in Arts and Sciences, which yet, 'tis well known, have never been more than your Amuſement. For your Time and Studies have always been, and ſtill are principally laid out in a more important and beneficial Manner to Mankind; in adding daily to that extenſive Knowledge of Nature, from which your Country daily reaps Benefits, the agreeable Accounts of which naturally lead every Friend to Mankind to give his Aſſent and Approbation to the Encomiums of the wiſe Son of *Syrach*, upon a highly honourable, becauſe highly uſeful Profeſſion, to which you are ſo great an Ornament: *Honour a Phyſician with the Honour due unto him, for the Uſes which you may have of him: for the Lord hath created him. For of the moſt High cometh Healing, and he ſhall receive Honour of Kings. The Skill of the Phyſician ſhall lift up his Head, and*

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and in the Sight of great Men ſhall he be in Admiration. The Lord hath created Medicines out of the Earth; and he that is Wiſe will ſearch them out: And he hath given Men Skill that he might be honoured in his marvellous Works. By ſuch does he heal Men and take away their Pains, and ſend Health over all the Earth.

That your Country may long enjoy the many Advantages it daily receives from your Love of Letters, and your profound Skill in Nature and the medicinal Art, join'd with a very uncommon Goodneſs and Generoſity of Heart, is the moſt cordial earneſt Wiſh of,

SIR,

Your highly obliged

and moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

GEORGE TURNBULL.

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PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

L' Abbe de Vertot, L' Abbe de Fraguier, L' Abbe de Bos *and Mr.* Boindin, *the Authors of the* French *Diſcourſes, with an* Engliſh *Tranſlation of which I now preſent you, are Names ſo well known in the Republick of Letters, that I need ſay nothing about them. What induc'd me to publiſh theſe Diſſertations in* Engliſh, *was in the firſt Place my having it in my Power to give the Publick, along with the Tranſlation two very rare Pieces of Antiquity, repreſenting the Subjects of two of them.*

A

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A Print from an ancient Painting repreſenting Auguſtus, M. Agrippa, Mæcenas, *and not improbably* Horace, *could not certainly be more ſuitably plac'd than before* a Diſcourſe on the Characters of theſe great Perſonages, *by the* Abbe de Vertot. *It is already* publiſh'd *in my Treatiſe on* Ancient Painting. *But every Perſon, whether he hath any thing of the* Virtuoſo *Turn or not, will feel a Double Satisfaction, when a lively well-drawn Picture of the Mind is join'd with one of the outward Likeneſs: And many may be fond of having Portraits of theſe Great Men, who are not very curious about* ancient Paintings *in general. The* original Picture *is now in Dr.* Mead's *Collection. The* other Print *repreſents* Ancient Masks; (*the Subject of Mr.* Boindin's *learned Diſſertation*) *to render which complete nothing was wanting but ſuch a Plate, and the* Obſervations on the ſame Subject *by the* Abbe de Bos, *in his excellent Eſſay on* Poetry *and* Painting, *which I have ſubjoined. This* Print *is done from a Drawing after an ancient Bas-relief, of exquiſitely good* Taſte *and* Workmanſhip *taken for me at* Rome *by one of the beſt Hands there for copying the Antique*, Camillo Paderni. *This Bas-relief was but lately diſcovered*, and was never engrav'd before; *and therefore it muſt be a very acceptable Preſent to the* Curious; *and it ſets the Obſervations and Conjectures of of Meſſ.* Boindin *and* de Bos *on that Subject, beyond all doubt.*

To theſe Diſſertations *I have added an* elegant Deſcription *of the famous Gallery of* Verres *by the* Abbe de Fraguier, *becauſe theſe few Diſcourſes make a ſmall* Specimen

cimen *of the* ingenious Enquiries *with which the Memoirs of the Academy of* Belles-Lettres and Inſcriptions *at* Paris *are filled: Enquiries which cannot be carried on either ſo ſucceſsfully or ſo agreeably as by a* Society of learned Men *united on Purpoſe. Were there any ſuch* Eſtabliſhment *here, the Arts and Sciences which we ſeem generally to admire and love, would certainly ſoon come to greater Perfection among us, than it is* poſſible *for them to do without* ſuch publick Countenance *and* Aſſiſtance; *or by ſingle Endeavours. And what a Reproach to us is it, that a Nation where* Genius, Wit, Learning *and* free Enquiries *muſt of Neceſſity labour under very great Diſadvantages, ſhould leave us ſo far behind them in every Branch of* polite Literature, *that we have very little of that Kind in our Language, which is Original.*

In a Country bleſs'd with the free Conſtitution we enjoy, there is no doubt that an Academy of Literature *would be eſtabliſhed upon a larger and freer Bottom than it can be in a* deſpotick enſlav'd Kingdom; *and ſo it would quickly become an experimental Proof how much more naturally* ingenious Sciences *and* Arts *grow up to their Maturity in ſuch a generous Soil, when they are planted in it and endow'd with the neceſſary Helps for their Cultivation and Advancement, than they can any where elſe; how ever much they may be cheriſh'd or flatter'd for merely* political Purpoſes: *An* experimental *Proof that it is only under the Sun-ſhine of Liberty, that the* ingenious Arts and Sciences *can bring forth their beſt, their beautifulleſt, pleaſanteſt and uſefulleſt Fruits. 'Tis not*

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not without Pain a Lover of Liberty hears the Glory of Arts flouriſhing aſcribed either to an Auguſtus *or to* Lewis XIV. It was *Mæcenas* who turn'd the former, a Prince naturally cruel and barbarous, to the Love and Courtſhip of the Muſes. *And it was Mr.* Colbert, *a Miniſter, who gave the ſame Turn to his Maſter's Vanity, of whoſe Generoſity to Men of Merit, Mr.* Rollin *mentions an Inſtance not to be paralelled in any Country, at leaſt in modern Times*.* Mr. *Colbert,* ſays he, ſet apart forty thouſand Crowns a Year out of his own private Eſtate, for the Supply and Encouragement of thoſe chiefly who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in any Art or Science: And he charged Mr. *Perrault* and ſome others, whom he had entruſted with the Care of making ingenious Men known to him, that he might reward them, in the ſolemneſt Manner, to make Conſcience of diſcharging their important Commiſſion faithfully and diligently; telling them, "That "if any Perſon of Merit was in Diſtreſs or pinch-"ing Circumſtances throughout *France,* whom he "could relieve, the horrid Guilt muſt lie upon them; "they muſt anſwer for it." *Is it any wonder to find the Arts and Sciences thriving under a* publick Miniſter, *who was ſuch an intelligent Lover of them, and and ſo generous a Rewarder, ſo zealous a Diſtinguiſher of Merit; and whoſe Maxim and Study it was to make an arbitrary Government, he could not change, as light and eaſy to the Subjects, as could poſſibly be done.*

Foreigners have indeed Reaſon to wonder, that an Eſtabliſhment ſo requiſite, as that of Academies of Belles Lettres, Painting, &c. *to do Juſtice to Merit, to render*

* La maniere d' etudier les Belles Lettres.

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der Collections of Antiquities of extensive Use; and to promote good Taste and laudable Emulation to excel in ingenious Arts, should be wanting in a Country where there are such noble Collections of Books, Pictures and Antiquities; in a Country which bears so great a Character all the World over for encouraging Learning and Ingenuity; and where there are very few of Birth and Fortune who have not taken the Trouble of a Journey through Italy *on* purpose *to visit* classick Ground, *and see the Remains of* ancient Arts.

The Design of the Discourse on the Gallery of Verres, *is not to celebrate the infamous* Verres, *but the Masterpieces of ancient Art, which his* Vanity and Avarice† *had amassed by Methods diametrically* opposite *to that* generous and humane Temper *which is the natural Concomitant of* good Taste; *and which, if the* polite Arts *do not produce, they indeed fall far short of their* principal Aim *and best Effect: That noble Tendency to* humanize the Mind, *whence they anciently took their Name* (Literae humaniores) ‡ *to which I have often regreted there should be none for them in our Language* strictly or adequately correspondent. *Perhaps that Appellation was given them to signify likewise that it is by the Arts of ingenious Composition, whether by the* Pen, *the* Pencil *or* Chizzel, *that Men are most remarkably* superior *to the Brute Creation. They* are the Arts of Men. *'Tis not* Verres *but*

 the,

† Haec Scipio non intelligebat homo doctissimus atque humanissimus, tu sine ulla bona arte, sine humanitate, sine ingenio, sine literis intelligis & judicas. *M. T. Cic. in Verrem.* 4. 44.

‡ Humanitas, —politior humanitas, literae humaniores, — quae ad humanitatem pertinent intelligis artes quibus ad humanitatem animus informari solet.

Cicero pro Archia Poet.

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the Bas-reliefs *and* Statues *in his Gallery he commends, and by his elegant Deſcription of* many wonderful Pieces of Art, (*or rather* Cicero's, *for it is collected from his Deſcriptions of them in his Pleadings againſt* Verres) *he makes us feel what is due to the* ingenious Arts; *and to thoſe who generouſly collect and preſerve their beſt Productions, in order to* recommend, animate, aſſiſt *and* promote good Taſte and laudable Emulation to excel in Arts, *which ſometimes have been employed to very noble and truly uſeful* Purpoſes; *ever may; and always ſhine moſt when they are ſo: I mean, by* perpetuating *the Memory of great Men and great Actions, to* excite and ſupport truly Praiſe-worthy Ambition *to rival ſuch glorious Examples: And in Subordination to that* principal End, *by tranſmitting to Poſterity true Repreſentations of certain more remarkable Cuſtoms and Uſages among the Ancients* civil and religious, *to give Satisfaction to a Curioſity that naturally* ſprings up in great Minds; *and which if it does not become their* chief Employment, *but holds only the Place of an ingenious Amuſement is no ignoble or unworthy Paſſion. The very Amuſements of* Man *ought to be* manly *and* ingenious, *and far removed from* Vice*.

The juſtly celebrated Earl of Shaftsbury's *Obſervations on the* Auguſtan *Age, and the Characters of* Auguſtus, Marcus Agrippa *and* Mœcenas, *are ſo agreeable to the Pictures, the* Abbe Vertot *has drawn of them; that I could not chooſe but join them together. And no where is there to be found ſuch a juſt Idea or Character of* Horace *and his Writings as that which his Lordſhip has given us,*

* Milton, il Penſeroſo.

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us, not all at once indeed, but in different Parts of his admired Works. The Reflections *upon ſome* beautiful Paſſages *of* Horace, *which I have ſelected out of many ſcattered thro' his Lordſhip's Writings, as they ſtand in them, are ſo incidental, and environed with ſo many Beauties more eſſential to his main Deſign, that they are generally not ſufficiently attended to, to have the Effect, they cannot, I think, fail to have, when they are preſented to one by themſelves, or in an* united View, *as Pieces of truly rational and uſeful Criticiſm. And therefore I thought that* gathering *and* uniting *them together, might be of uſe to ſhew what* true Criticiſm *ought to do; and to what important and profound Reflections* Homer, Virgil, Horace, *and other* ancient Authors, *lead thoſe who read them with* Intelligence, *and are capable of entering into their* Spirit: *For in* them *and all* good Writers, *to uſe a Phraſe of* ‖ *one who well deſerves to be placed among the Ancients,* More is meant than meets the Ear. *In order to this, one muſt not merely be Maſter of* dead Languages, *which it can never be worth while to learn, if one is to learn* nothing elſe *by them: But he muſt be very well acquainted with* Antiquity *and* Hiſtory, *with* ancient Philoſophy, *with* Mankind; *and with that* true *and* ſolid Criticiſm *which deduces all its* Maxims *and* Rules *from* Human Nature *and the* Knowledge *of the* World. *This plainly* appears *from* theſe few Reflections *on* ancient Authors, *on* Horace *in particular, we have ſelected from that* incomparable Writer *on Purpoſe to evince it. And he who* underſtands *and* relishes *them,*

‖ Solebat Plato, quoties e ſchola deſcederet, dicere: Videte, pueri, ut ocio ad honeſtam aliquam rem utamini. *Plato de Sanitate tuenda.*

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them, will heartily *give his* Aſſent *and* Approbation *to what his* Lordſhip *ſays on the* Subject *of* Polite Scholarſhip, *and the* Common Methods *of* Modern Education, *in a* Paſſage *I can't chooſe but tranſcribe here, ſo* greatly *does it deſerve our* Attention.

It ſeems indeed ſomewhat improbable that according to modern Erudition, and as Science is now diſtributed, our ingenious and noble Youths ſhould obtain the full Advantage of a juſt and liberal Education by uniting the Scholar Part with that of the real Gentleman, and Man of Breeding. Academies for Exerciſes ſo uſeful to the Publick, and eſſential in the Formation of a genteel and liberal Character, are unfortunately neglected. Letters are indeed baniſhed, I know not where, in diſtant Cloyſters and unpractis'd Cells, as our Poet has it, confined to the Commerce and mean Fellowſhip of bearded Boys. The ſprightly Arts and Sciences are ſever'd from Philoſophy, which conſequently muſt grow droniſh, inſipid, pedantick, uſeleſs and directly contrary to the real Knowledge and Practice of the World and Mankind. Our Youths accordingly ſeem to have their only Chance between two widely different Roads; either that of Pedantry and School-learning, which lies amidſt the Dregs and moſt corrupt Part of ancient Literature; or that of the faſhionable illiterate World which aims merely at the Character of the fine Gentleman, and takes up with the Foppery of modern Languages and foreign Wit. The frightful Aſpect of the former of theſe Roads makes the Journey appear deſperate and impracticable. Hence that Averſion ſo generally conceiv'd againſt a learn'd Character

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racter wrong-turn'd, and hideouſly ſet out, under ſuch Difficulties, and in ſuch ſeeming Labyrinths and myſterious Forms; as if a *Homer*, or *Xenophon* imperfectly learn'd in raw Years, might not afterwards in a riper Age, be ſtudy'd as well in a capital City, and amidſt the World, as at a College or Country Town! Or as if a *Plutarch*, a *Tully* or a *Horace*, could not accompany a young Man in his Travels, at a Court, or (if Occaſion were) even in a Camp! The Caſe is not without Precedent. Leiſure is found ſufficient for their reading of numerous modern Tranſlations and worſe Originals of *Italian* or *French* Authors, who are read merely for Amuſement. The *French* indeed may boaſt of ſome legitimate Authors of a juſt Reliſh, correct and without any Mixture of the affected or ſpurious Kinds, the falſe Tender or the falſe Sublime, the conceited Jingle or the ridiculous Point. They are ſuch Genius's as have been form'd upon the natural Model of the Ancients, and willingly owe their Debt to thoſe great Maſters. But for the reſt, who draw from another Fountain, as the *Italian* Authors in particular, they may be reckon'd no better than the corrupting of true Learning and Erudition; and can indeed be reliſh'd by thoſe alone whoſe Education has unfortunately denied them the Familiarity of the noble Ancients, and the Practice of a better and more natural Taſte.

The Criticiſm, of which a few Samples are here given from this Noble Author, is of a Kind not to be met with almoſt in any of that inſipid Race of voluminous Writers called Commentators on ancient Authors (*for ſo he often very juſtly characterizes them.*) *If our* Gataker, *the* Caſaubons,

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ſaubons *and a very few more are excepted*, there is none of the Tribe whom it is not pernicious to have read. *It is Criticiſm of a Kind ſadly wanting in the more ordinary Courſe of what is called* claſſical Education: *For which Reaſon young Gentlemen have no ſooner acquired with* great Drudgery, *ſome ſmall Acquaintance with* Greek *and* Roman *Words, than they throw aſide the Authors from whom they would quickly receive an abundant Reward for all that Toil*, were they but once directed into the right Taſte, and the profitable Manner of reading them, *which are ſo charmingly delineated to us by this* inſtructive elegant Maſter, *in his Advice to an Author*, in particular. *This is ſo much the more to be wondred at, that we have had for ſome Time a* Syſtem of Notes *in our own Language, on* Homer, (*for the Tranſlation is* Homer *ſtill*) *that is a* moſt perfect Model of true and uſeful Criticiſm; *and plainly* points *out to thoſe who are concerned in the Education of Youth, in what Channel their Lectures on* ancient Authors *ought chiefly to run, if they would* form *or* improve *a good Taſte of them; and inſtead of giving* young Gentlemen *a* very idle Turn (*to ſay no worſe of it*) *toward* merely verbal Criticiſm, *inſpire them early with that* juſt Reliſh for Manly Science, *and* uſeful Reflections *on* Men, Manners, *and* Things, *which if* Education *be not* adapted *to* produce, *it is* any thing *elſe but what it aſſumes the Name of. Were theſe* Notes *tranſlated into a Language* Foreign Pedants *could read*, Criticiſm perhaps *might take a* better Turn *among them*; *or, at leaſt, ceaſe to* corrupt *and* ſpoil good Books *and* good Taſte.

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I have no more to add but that I thought it not improper to give the principal Authorities *from which the* Abbe de Vertot's *Characters of* Auguſtus, M. Agrippa *and* Mæcenas *ſeem'd to me to be taken, in the Margin by way of Notes, One pretty large Note concerning the Education of* Auguſtus *and* Mœcenas, *well deſerves its Place, becauſe it ſhews us what Notion the* Ancients *had of* truly liberal Education; *or of the different Parts, which being rightly* coalited *conſtitute a* proper Inſtitution *for the Youth of higher Rank. I have taken the ſame Care with Care* with regard *to the Deſcription of* Verres's *Gallery, having inſerted in the Margin the Paſſages ſcattered through* Cicero's *Orations againſt* Verres; *from* which *it is fetch'd. As for Mr.* Boindin, *he is ſo full and exact in his References to the Authorities on* which *he founds his Opinion, that there* was *nothing more left to me to do, but to add the Obſervations of Mr.* de Bos *on the ſame Subject publiſhed* afterwards, *and the curious Print prefixed to thoſe Diſcourſes, which all the Lovers of Antiquity* will *be glad to ſee. With regard to Re-ſearches of this Sort* allow *me to conclude in* Cicero's *Words.*

——Quod ſi non hic tantus fructus oſtenderetur, & ſi ex his ſtudiis delectatio ſola peteretur: tamen ut opinor hanc animi adverſionem humaniſſimam ac liberaliſſimam eſſe judicaretis.

Of ſuch Amuſement it may be ſaid,

—— Vires inſtigat alitque
Tempeſtiva quies, major poſt otia virtus.

Statius Sylv. l. 4.

THREE

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N°

Camillo Paderni delin.

J. Mynde sculp.

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THREE DISSERTATIONS;

ONE

On the Character of *Auguſtus*,

&c. &c. &c.

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Habet autem, ut in ætatibus Senectus, ſic in exemplis antiquitas: quæ quidem apud me ipſum valet plurimum nec ego id, quod deeſt antiquitati flagito, potius quam laudo quod eſt: præſertim cum ea majora judicem, quæ ſunt quam illa, quæ deſunt.

Quid igitur ipſa auctoritas antiquorum? nam cum res probabiliores, cum hominum ſtudia, ad imitandum alacriora reddit: immo erigit omnium cupiditates, & acuit induſtriam, cum ſpes injecta eſt poſſe imitando, — conſequi facultatem.

M. T. Cicero.

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THE

Character of *Auguſtus*,

With a Compariſon between

His two Miniſters, *Agrippa* and *Mœcenas*.

Read to the Academy of Inſcriptions *and* Belles Lettres, *by the* Abbe de Vertot.

OF all the various Means and Cauſes which concur, whether to the Riſe, or the Eſtabliſhment of Empires, none hath greater Influence than the good Choice Princes make of their Generals and Miniſters.

But not to enter into a long hiſtorical Detail upon a Subject ſo well underſtood, it is inconteſtable, according to the *Abbe de Vertot* *, the Author of this Memoir, that if *Agrippa* by his Valour made *Auguſtus* Maſter of the Empire, it was *Mœcenas*, who by his Wiſdom and political Addreſs, fix'd the new Domination on a firm and ſtable Baſis †.

* It was read to the Academy of *Inſcriptions* and *Belles Lettres*, by the *Abbe de Vertot*, and is publiſh'd in the 5th Volume of their Memoirs, *p.* 235. 4*to Edit.*

† How he did ſo is ſhewn afterwards, towards the End of this Diſcourſe.

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But the *Abbe de Vertot* asks which of these two *Romans* was the greatest Man?

And it is a Question that can't be decided, without very narrowly examining into the Character of *Augustus* himself; the Situation of Affairs when these two Ministers begun to act their different Parts; and into the respective good Services by which they obtain'd that Prince's Confidence, who never put full Trust in any other.

Historians differ very widely in drawing the Character of *Augustus**. According to some he was a Genius of the first Form †: He had large extensive Views, and laid Projects with great Judgment: He was capable not only of planning, but of executing the grandest Designs: And after the Extinction of the Triumvirate, he was humane, clement, nay full of Goodness; and in fine, one who seem'd to have been born to diffuse Happiness through the Universe.

By other Writers he is represented as an ambitious Prince without Courage; as enterprising and yet timid; as treacherous to his Allies, and implacably cruel in satiating his Revenge; as superstitious ‡; and not only without one real Virtue, but without the outward Semblance of any.

But

* *Augustus* wrote his own Memoirs, as appears from what *Sueton.* says, *Ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit, vetere ac locuplete, & in quâ primus senator pater suus fuerit.* See *Plut. in Bruto.* Some Fragments of them are collected by *Janus Rutgersius* in *variis Lectionibus.* Another is added by *Vossius*, from *Tertullian (libro de anima)* who with other Criticks, reads that Passage in *Velleius Paterculus*, l. 2. c. 59. which stands commonly thus (*de cujus origine etiamsi præventis, & pauca dicenda sunt.*) *de cujus origine etiamsi prævenit & pauca dicenda sunt*, agreeably to some ancient Manuscripts. See *C. Vell. Pat. Curante Burmanno.*

† How excessively fulsom is this Expression of *Paterculus*: *Omnibus omnium gentium viris magnitudine sua inducturus caliginem.* l. 2. c. 36.

‡ See *Sueton.* c. 90. *&c.* is full on this Article.

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But it is eaſy to diſcern Flattery in the one and Malice in the other of theſe * ſo very oppoſite Pictures. *Auguſtus*, 'tis likely, has been neither ſo great nor ſo good, ſo weak nor ſo wicked as he is deſcribed to us. Men generally are of more mixed Characters: And therefore it is probable, that if this Prince did not poſſeſs all the wonderful Qualities ſome aſcribe to him, he was not however ſuch a Miſcreant as others have pourtray'd him.

We can hardly doubt but he had ſome good Qualifications: We ſee in his Schemes and Actions Reſolution to an aſtoniſhing Degree, and a very extraordinary Reach of Sagacity in well-timing the Execution of his Deſigns; vaſt Penetration in the Knowledge of Mankind, and ſingular Prudence in employing Perſons ſuitably to their Capacities and Tempers. He was cloſely attentive to all the Variations of Affairs, and was merciful or cruel as Times and Injuries required. He was an Enemy to all perilous Meaſures even to Cowardice, but perhaps through Politicks. But well did he know how to give a fair colouring to his Vices by his dexterous Skill in aſſuming the Appearance of Virtues which he had not. In one Word, he was, as he ſaid of himſelf, an excellent Comedian, and could play any part under a Maſk, in order to act the higheſt.

It was neceſſary to unfold a little the Doubles in this complicated Character, to form a true Judgment of his two Miniſters.

Amidſt

* That Remark which *Tacitus* makes in the Beginning of his firſt Book of Hiſtory ought ever to be preſent to the Readers of Hiſtory. *Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facile adverſeris: obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur. "Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.*

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Amidſt the very troublous Commotions which enſued upon the Death of *Cæſar*, did *C. Octavius* enter upon the Stage. Scarcely eighteen Years of Age, and juſt come from the Schools of *Apollonia*, he dar'd to project a Deſign for utterly extirpating the Republick, and poſſeſſing himſelf of abſolute Sovereignty; and which is yet more ſurpriſing, without being ſure of gaining over to him any of the Parties which were formed after the Dictator was kill'd.

In vain did his Relatives and Friends *, the Partiſans, or even the Enemies of Liberty oppoſe themſelves to ſo bold and riſquous a Project: Nothing could move him; he without any other Support † but the bare Name of *Cæſar*, withſtood them all. But tho' he had not ſufficient Force to reſiſt all thoſe different Factions at once, he had Art enough by entering into ſucceſſive Alliances with one of them after another, to take Advantage of their mutual Jealouſies and Animoſities by Turns, to make them deſtroy one the other by their own Arms; and thus to lay the Foundation of his own Power and Grandeur on their Ruins.

This was the fix'd Scheme which he early form'd, and from which he never ſwerv'd. But this grand Deſign lay hid in profound Secrecy, and nothing appeared but Zeal and Reſolution to avenge his Father's Fate ‡. Now *M. Anthony* under the ſame ſpecious Cover for his ambitious Views had recall'd the Legions he commanded. So

* *See Velleius Paterculus*, l. 2. c. 59. Non placebat Attiæ matri Philippoque vitrico adiri nomen invidioſæ fortunæ Cæſaris.

† Sprevit itaque cœleſtis animus humana conſilia; & cum periculo potius ſumma, quam tuto humilia propoſuit ſequi; ——— dictitans, nefas eſſe, quo nomine Cæſari dignus eſſet viſus, ſibimetipſum videri indignum. *Vell. ibidem.*

‡ Omnium bellorum initium & cauſſam hinc ſumſit, nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta. *Suet.*

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So that one who could not look through the outside of their Conduct, into their internal Motives would naturally have expected to see them unite together, the better to accomplish the same End. But they were inwardly actuated by quite different Views of a more interesting Nature. *M. Anthony* aspired at no less than absolute Power * as well as *Augustus*, and being able to see through one another, they soon became hearty Enemies †.

Cæsar's Friends strove to no purpose to bring about a Reconciliation. They embrac'd, but their mutual Diffidence still remain'd; and while they were continually traversing one another's Plots, as their feign'd Friendship could not hold out long, so all Appearance of it was soon at an End.

M. Anthony satisfied himself to put Marks of Contempt ‡ upon *Octavius*, and to treat him like a Schoolboy ‖, while the young Scholar, absolutely Master of his Resentment in outward Appearance, was laying, quite out of the reach of Sight, a sure Foundation for working his Rival's Destruction.

Mean Time *M. Anthony* went to lay Siege before *Modena*, in hopes that the young *Cæsar* would come to his Camp, and put himself under his Command as his General.

* Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellæ consulum ad nefandam dominationem erupit furor. *Velleius*. See *Appian*. l. 3.

† Interque naturaliter dissimillimos ac diversa volentes crescebat odium, eoque C. Cæsar juvenis quotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis. *Vell. ibidem.*

‡ *Velleius* l. 2. 59. *says* Hunc protinus Antonius Cos. superbe excepit; (neque is erat contemtus sed metus) vixque admisso in pompeianos hortos, loquendi secum tempus dedit. *See Appian*. l. 3.

‖ *Plutarch* tells us he despis'd him because he was very young, *&c.* He was commonly called at *Rome*, *Puer*. *See Dion de Oct.* *Atticus* to *Cicero* says, *in præsentia belle iste puer retundit Antonium.* See *Servius ad Virg. Ecl.* l. 46. [*Hic illum vide Juvenem.*] *Cæsarem dicit Octavianum Augustum. decreverat enim senatus nequis eum puerum diceret, ne majestas tanti imperii minueretur.* See *Causaubon ad Suetonium.*

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neral. But the Prince ſaw plainly, that to revenge his Father's Death, by driving *Brutus* from that Place, was but a blind; and that to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome* by taking that Town, was his real Incentive: And therefore he artfully employ'd *Cicero*'s Intereſt to raiſe a Jealouſy of the Succeſs of that Siege, and got the Senate to declare *Anthony* an Enemy to his Country *.

The

* So *Plutarch* in his Life of *Anthony*: And in his Life of *Cicero* he tells us at great length how *Octavius* got into Favour with *Cicero*, and mentions Letters of *Brutus* to *Atticus*, in which he charges *Cicero* with flattering young *Cæſar* for fear of *Anthony*. See a Letter to *Atticus*, in which there are theſe and many other remarkable Expreſſions. ——— Omnia feciſſe Ciceronem optimo animo ſcio. Quid enim exploratius mihi eſſe poteſt, quam illius animus in Remp? Sed quædam mihi videtur, quid dicam? imperite, vir omnium prudentiſſimus; an ambitioſe feciſſe; qui valentiſſimum Antonium, ſuſcipere pro Rep. non dubitavit inimicum? Neſcio, quid ſcribam tibi, niſi unum, pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam, potius eſſe irritatam, quam repreſſam a Cicerone. ——Suſtinuiſſe mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noſter. Quid hoc mihi prodeſt, ſi merces Antonii oppreſſi poſcitur, in Antonii locum ſucceſſio: & ſi vindex illius mali, auctor extitit alterius, fundamentum, & radices habituri altiores, ſi patiamur? ut jam iſta quæ facit, non *dominationem*, non, ſed *Dominum* Antonium timentis ſint. —— O magnam ſtultitiam timoris, idipſum quod verearis, ita cavere, ut cum vitare fortaſſe potueris, ultra arceſſas & attrahas! Nimium timemus mortem, & exilium, & paupertatem. Hæc videntur Ciceroni ultima eſſe in malis, & dum habeat a quibus impetret quæ velit, & a quibus colatur, ac laudetur, ſervitutem, *honorificam* modo non aſpernatur: ſi quidquam in extrema, ac miſerrima contumelia poteſt honorificum eſſe, ——— Quidenim noſtra, victum eſſe Antonium, ſi victus eſt, ut alii vacaret quod ille obtinuit? ———Vivat hercule Cicero, qui poteſt, ſupplex & obnoxius, ſi neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum geſtarum pudet. Ego certe, quin cum *ipſa re* bellum geram, hoc eſt, *cum regno*, & imperiis extraordinariis, & dominatione, & potentia quæ ſupra leges ſe eſſe velit, nulla erit tam bona conditio ſerviendi, qua deterrear. ——— *Compare with this, his Letter to* Cicero. At dolore, quantum animo maximum capere poſſum, eadem illa pars epiſtolæ ſcriptæ ad Octavium de nobis, affecit. Sic enim ille gratias agis de Rep. tam ſuppliciter, ac demiſſe (quid ſcribam) ——— ut prorſus præ te feras, non ſublatam dominationem ſed dominum commutatum eſſe. —— Hic ipſe puer, quem Cæſaris nomen incitare videtur in Cæſaris interfectores quanti æſtimet (ſi ſit commercio locus) poſſe, nobis auctoribus, tantum, quantum profecto poterit, quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere, & dici conſulares volumus? Ceterum nequicquam perierit ille: cujus interitu quid gaviſi ſumus, ſi mortuo nihilominus ſervituri eramus, &c. *M. T. Cic. Epiſt. ad Brutum Liber. ſing.*

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The two Conſuls marched. *Auguſtus* join'd them with his Troops, and *M. Anthony* loſing a Battle was forc'd to raiſe the Siege. *Auguſtus* demanded and obtained the Conſulſhip; but he did not keep it long. The Army of *M. Anthony* being reinforc'd by the Acceſſion of the Troops under *Lepidus*, he threatned *Auguſtus* that he would join the Conſpirators *. And the young *Cæſar* alarmed at the Thoughts of a League he was unable to reſiſt, propoſed a Reconciliation, joining their Forces and ſharing the ſovereign Power †. But being jealous one of the other, they aſſociated *Lepidus* to them, not to be Head of the Party, but rather to be an Arbitrator between them, if any Differences ſhould happen.

This is the famous Triumvirate, whoſe monſtrous Cruelties ſtrike with Horror ‡. Theſe three Heads enrich'd

C by

* *Velleius* c. 65.——Denuntiaretque ſe cum Bruto Caſſioque, juncturum vires ſuas, ſi Cæſar ejus aſpernaretur concordiam; diceretque plus Cæſarem patris, quam ſe amici ultioni debere.

Igitur unita potentiæ ſocietas, & hortantibus orantibuſque exercitibus, &c. *Ibidem.*

† *Plutarch* tells us, that *Octavius*, when he ſaw *Cicero*'s whole Deſign and Endeavour was to reſtore the Commonwealth, ſent certain Friends to *Antonius*, to propoſe a Reconciliation.

‡ See what even *Velleius* that Flatterer and Time-ſerver ſays on this Head, *l.* 2. *c.* 67. *Hujus totius temporis fortunam nec deſlere quidem quiſquam ſatis digne potuit, adeo nemo verbis exprimere poteſt.* The Remark he adds deſerves Attention. *Id tamen notandum eſt; fuiſſe in proſcriptos uxorum fidem ſummam, libertorum mediam, ſervorum aliquam, filiorum nullam.* Adeo difficilis eſt hominibus utcumque conceptæ ſpei mora. See *Appian.* with reſpect to *Octavius Sueton* ſpeaking of the Proſcriptions ſays, *In quo reſtitit quidem aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proſcriptio, ſed incæptum utroque acerbius exercuit. Dion* throws all upon his Collegues, *L.* 47. *p.* 377. So *Velleius, repugnante Cæſare, ſed fruſtra adverſus duos inſtauratum Sullæ exempli malum, proſcriptio.* See with what Indignation even he ſpeaks of the Proſcription of *Cicero*, and the fine Character he gives of him, *L.* 2. 66. *Plutarch* ſays the Government of the Triumviri grew odious to the *Romans*

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by the Spoils of the Proſcrib'd, and become powerful by the Death of their Enemies, quite demoliſh'd the Republicans, and buried Liberty in the Plains of *Philippi* with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the two laſt true *Romans*.

Auguſtus having during this Time bewray'd his natural Timorouſneſs on many Occaſions *, frequently fell under the Raillery of *M. Anthony*, who was of a taunting Turn: And therefore he thought it neceſſary for him to chuſe a good General; and he pitch'd upon *Agrippa*, a Perſon of low Extraction, and a Soldier of Fortune, who for theſe Reaſons could give no Umbrage.

The

on every Account, but they moſt blamed *Anthony*, becauſe *Cæſar* was young, and *Lepidus* was of leſs Conſideration. The ſame Author takes Notice of his Cruelty in *Aſia*. *Plutarch* in his Life of *Cicero* has this Paſſage, "Some ſay *Cæſar* ſtuck hard for *Cicero* the two firſt Days, but the third "he forſook him.

As for *Anthony*, *Plutarch* tells us, that he commanded thoſe he had employ'd to murder *Cicero* to ſtrike off his Head and right Hand, (with which he had written the invective Orations called *Phillipicæ*) againſt him; and when the Murderers brought him *Cicero*'s Head and Hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great Joy, and laugh'd heartily. How greatly was *Brutus* miſtaken in his Opinion of this Man. *Plutarch* tells, in his Life of *Brutus*, that all the Conſpirators except *Brutus*, were for killing *Anthony* likewiſe, becauſe he was a wicked Man that in his Heart favour'd Tyranny. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. Firſt, becauſe, he ſaid, it was not honeſt. And ſecondly, becauſe he did not doubt but *Anthony* being a noble-minded courageous Man (when he ſhould know *Cæſar* was dead) would willingly help his Country to recover her Liberty, having them an Example to him, to follow their Courage and Virtue. So *Brutus* ſav'd *Anthony*'s Life, who at that Time diſguis'd himſelf and ſtole away.

* *Sueton.* Unde præbitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi. Ne rectis quidem oculis eum adſpicere potuiſſe inſtructam aciem, &c. *Plutarch* tells us *Anthony* was much given to Raillery and Mocking. He tells us how *Cleopatra* ſerv'd him, when ſhe found him to be of this Humour.

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The Business now was to chase the young *Pompey* out of *Sicily*, who having possessed himself of it greatly annoyed the *Italian* Coasts. *Augustus* had no Fleet ‡, but *Agrippa* built Ships and went in Quest of the Enemy: He beat his Lieutenant Generals in several Skirmishes, and at last defeated *Pompey* himself: being however an equally modest and great General, he declin'd the triumphal Honours, which he had merited; well knowing perhaps the Delicacy and Jealousy of his Master.

Augustus having now obtain'd a compleat Victory over the Republicans, judg'd it high Time to break with his Colleagues *; and pretended Reasons for this were easily hit off by so able a Politician †.

Lepidus being the less formidable of the two, was first attack'd; and indeed his Destruction cost but a little Art and some Money. Not being in Favour with the Soldiery his Army abandon'd him; and having but little Ambition he had no very violent Struggle to prevail with himself to make his Retreat. *M. Antony* gave *Cæsar* much more Trouble: Being Master of part of *Asia* and *Africa*, in Alliance with several mighty crown'd

 Heads,

‡ Crescentis indies & classe & fama Pompeii, Cæsar molem belli ejus suscipere statuit. Ædificandis navibus ——— præfectus est M. Agrippa. *Here follows his Character of him.* Virtutis nobilissimæ, labore, vigilia, periculo invictus, parendique, sed uni scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus, & per omnia extra dilationes positus, consultisque facta conjungens. *Vell. L.* 2. *c.* 79.

* Post Pompeii fugam, collegarum alterum M. Lepidum quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem. —— Spoliavit exercitu; supplicemque concessa vita Circeios in perpetuum relegavit. M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam & incertam, reconciliationibusque variis male fœdatam abrupit tandem. *Sueton.*

† *Plutarch* tells us what they were.

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Heads, and ador'd by the Army ‡, he had indeed prov'd invincible had he not fallen a Victim to his Paſſions ||.

Auguſtus being inform'd that *Anthony* quite diſſolv'd in Love to *Cleopatra*, utterly neglected the Affairs of Government, ſent *Agrippa* againſt him. This General was led by War thro' many different Climates, but Victory attended him where ever he went: And at laſt, the Battle of *Actium* finally decided this capital Contention, and the Death of *Anthony* following very quickly after that Victory rendered *Auguſtus* Emperor of the World.

He ow'd the Empire to his Skill in making the beſt Advantage of the Victory by *Hirtius* and *Panſa* near to *Modena*, to diſtreſs *Anthony*; and after that in making *Anthony* conquer for him at *Philippi*; and to *Agrippa*'s ridding him of *Pompey* and *Anthony*, thus putting it in his Power to ſettle the Government to his own Liking.

This grand Project created many very diſturbing anxious Hours to *Auguſtus*. The Ides of *March* were ever preſent to his Imagination. *Cæſar* aſſaſſinated in the Senate by his own Friends, made him dread the ſame Fate. His natural Timorouſneſs often rouz'd up in his Fancy another *Brutus*; and thoſe were the Motives which determin'd him to deliberate about this weighty Affair * with *Agrippa* and *Mœcenas*. *Agrippa* inſenſible to

‡ *Plutarch* tells us, he was lov'd by them, becauſe of his Liberality and Familiarity with them; and he names the eight Kings he had to aid him.

|| So *Plutarch*, who on this Occaſion makes uſe of a Phraſe of *Plato*, who calls *Luſt* the unrein'd ungovernable Horſe of the Mind.

* De reddenda Rep. bis cogitabant, &c. *Suet.* Scribit Donatus, Auguſtum cogitaſſe de Tyrannide ommittenda & Rep. Senatui reddenda: tunc Virgilium ſuaſiſſe ut dominaretur. Si enim, inquit, juſtitiam, quod modo facis, omni-

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to all Glory, but that which is due to truly great Actions, declared for a generous Abdication. He ſet the Dangers of a hated Tyranny before his Prince in the ſtrongeſt Light; recalled to his Mind the Examples of *Sylla* and *Cæſar*, and vigorouſly preſſed him to ſhew the World, by reſtoring Liberty to his Country, that he had taken Arms with no other View but to avenge his Father's Death.

Mæcenas, inſtead of holding up to his Maſter's Eye the more tempting ſide of a Crown, contented himſelf with repreſenting to him, that he had now gone too far to draw back; that after ſpilling ſo much Blood, there was no Security for him but on the Throne; and that he could no ſooner be diveſted of ſupreme Dominion than he would inceſſantly be aſſailed by the Children of ſo many illuſtrious Perſons he had proſcribed, having been forced, by the deplorable Situation of the times to ſacrifice them to his own Safety.

Auguſtus neither wholly rejecting, nor wholly embracing one or other of theſe Advices, reſolv'd to retain the Sovereign Power, but gradually to inure the *Romans* to deſpotick Government *, by gentle Uſage; and therefore he declared publickly, that he would lay it down in Ten Years, flattering them, that before that Time

b

us in futurum diſtribuis, dominari te, & tibi & urbi conducet. Virgilii ſententiam ſecutus Auguſtus principatum tenuit: quia ſuapte natura cupidiſſimus erat dominandi, ut inquit Eutropius, ſupraquam exiſtimari poteſt. *Beroaldus ad Suet. Octav. Aug.*

* Quam voluntatem —— quodam edicto his verbis teſtatus eſt. "Ita "mihi ſalvam ac ſoſpitem Remp. ſiſtere in ſua ſede liceat, atque ejus rei "fructum percipere quem peto, ut optimi ſtatus auctor dicam: & moriens, ut feram mecum ſpem, manſura in veſtigio ſuo fundamenta Rep. quæ jecero." Fecitque ipſe ſe compotem voti, niſus omni modo ne quem novi ſtatus pœniteret. *Sueton.*

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Time he would be able to re-eſtabliſh the State into a perfect calm: And indeed he fail'd not very frequently to renew this Proteſtation.

From that Moment *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas* divided between them *Auguſtus*'s Ear and Authority, with this Difference only, that the firſt being in higher Eſteem, eſpouſed *Auguſtus*'s Daughter, and was nominated Conſul.

Mæcenas took a quite different, but a very ſhrewd Method of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. Content with a Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure, and with reigning, ſo to ſpeak, over his Maſter's Heart, he artfully refuſed all Dignities.

The one was regarded as the Pillar of the Empire: The other as an agreeable Friend, ſincerely attached to his Maſter's Perſon, and quite free from Ambition.

But becauſe this Favourite of *Auguſtus* hath been much leſs talked of than the other, on account of the perpetual Wars that made *Auguſtus* Maſter of the World, in which he had no Share, it is not amiſs to endeavour to make a *Roman* better known, whoſe Name for Ages hath been conſecrated to denote a Patron of uſeful Learning and ingenious Arts.

He was by Birth a *Roman* Knight, the ſecond Rank in the State, and he had the good Fortune to have his Education in the ſame School to which *Auguſtus* was ſent at *Apollonia* *. The Conformity of their Tempers; their

* *Appian* ſays, he was ſent to *Appollonia*, Rei militaris & literarum cauſa. *Strabo* ſays of *Apollonia*, Sita in Macedonia ad mare jonium optimis olim inſtitutis & diſciplinis.

Mæcenas a young *Roman* Knight it is obſervable was ſent to the ſame School, and had the ſame Education with *Octavius*.

We

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their common Love of Polite Literature *, and the ſame Paſſion for Pleaſure formed between them from that early Time a cloſe Friendſhip, which never abated †.

The

We have a particular Account in *Dion*, *L.* 45. of *Julius Cæſar*'s Care about the Education of *Octavius*; of the Manner of Education at *Apollonia*; and of what *Octavius* was ſent thither to be inſtructed in, which is well worth our Attention, becauſe from hence we may form a Notion, not only of the Opinion of *Cæſar* with regard to the Inſtitution of a young Prince, but likewiſe of ancient Education in general.

" *Julius* took particular Care that *Octavius* ſhould be prepared by his Edu-
" cation for the Arts of Government, and be well inſtructed in all thoſe
" Arts and Sciences, which were neceſſary to qualify him for reigning with
" Dignity over ſo great an Empire. *Octavius* was inſtructed and practiſed in
" the Study of Eloquence; and that both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Tongues.
" He was at the ſame time kept aſſiduouſly to the military Exerciſes: And
" he was taught with great Care and Diligence all that belongs to the Know-
" ledge of Mankind and the Science of Government; all that could enable
" him to maintain the Dignity of a great Character and fit him for the
" higheſt Offices in Life. [τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἀρχικά.] *Lipſius* thus paraphraſes
" theſe Words, (which as he obſerves may be tranſlated *Studium politices.*)
" Quicquid juvare prudentiam, aut dignitatem ornare, vel commendare ele-
" gantiam principalis faſtigii poteſt. And he remarks, that the Manner of
" of this Education is well expreſſed by *Dion*, τὸ ἀκριβῶς, τὸ ἐῤῥωμένως, τὸ
" ἠνυκότως, ſolide, & ſtrenue, & efficaciter. Non ad ſcholam aut umbram, ſed
" ad lucem & vitam tendentis præclara indicant illa. *See* Lpſius Pol. *L.* 1.
" *c.* 10.

*See *Sueton. c.* 84, Eloquentiam ſtudiaque literalia ab ætate prima. —— Cacozelos & antiquarios ut diverſo genere vitioſos pari faſtidio ſprevit. Exagitabat nonnunquam inprimis Mæcenatem ſuum, cujus μυροθρεψίας, ut ait cincinnos uſquequaque perſequitur, & *imitanda per jocum irridet*. See *Is. Caſaub.* on this Place.

Macrobius gives us an Account of a Letter of *Auguſtus* to *Mæcenas* of this Kind. — Auguſtus quia Mæcenatem ſuum noverat eſſe ſtylo remiſſo, molli & diſſoluto, talem ſe in epiſtolis quas ad eum ſcribebat, ſæpius exhibebat: & contra caſtigationem loquendi, quam alias ille ſcribendo ſervabat, in Epiſtola ad Mæcenatem familiari, plura in jocos effuſus ſubtexuit: " Vale mel
" gemmeum Medulliæ, Ebur ex Hetruria, laſer Æretinum, adamas ſuper-
" nas, Tiberinum Margaritum, Cimiorum ſmaragde, Jaſpi figulorum, Be-
" rylle Porſennæ, Carbunculum Italiæ; καὶ ἵνα συντέμω πάντα, Malagma
" Mæcharum."

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A Civil War being kindled, *Auguſtus* found a very able and uſeful Miniſter in an agreeable Favourite. He was always charged with the moſt delicate Negotiations: And *Auguſtus* could not have made a happier Choice.

Mæcenas * poſſeſs'd in an eminent Degree all thoſe winning Qualities which make their Way directly and irreſiſtibly

But what ſort of Lover of Letters and Arts he was, we may judge by his Paſſion for amphitheatrical and cruel Entertainments, of which afterwards; and of a favourite Diverſion of his related by *Sueton*, *Feſtos & ſolennes dies profuſſime, nonunquam joculariter tantum celebrabat. Saturnalibus & ſi quando alias libuiſſet, modo munera dividebat, veſtem, & aurum, & argentum: modo nummos omnis notæ, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos: interdum nihil præter Cilicia & ſpongias, & rutabula, & forpices, atque alia id genus, titulis obſcuris & ambiguis. Solebat & inæqualiſſimarum rerum ſortes*, & adverſas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare: *incertoque caſu ſpem mercantium vel fruſtrari vel explere: ita ut per ſingulos lectos licitatio fieret; & ſeu jactura ſeu lucrum communicaretur.*

Sueton. c. 66. *ſays of* Auguſtus: Amicitias neque facile admiſit, & conſtantiſſime retinuit. *But he adds*, Deſideravit enim, nonnunquam, ne de pluribus referam, Agrippæ patientiam & Mæcenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi rigoris ſuſpicione, & quod Marcellus ſibi anteferretur, Mitylenas ſe, relictis omnibus contuliſſet: hic ſecretum de comperta Murenæ conjuratione uxori Terentiæ prodidiſſet.

Tacitus L. 3. Frigore tandem percuſſum Mæcenatem & ætate provecta ſpeciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim obtinuiſſe. *Dion* ſays the ſame, but gives another Reaſon. Cauſſam imminutæ amicitiæ fuiſſe certamen de formâ inter Liviam & Terentiam. *L.* 54. See what he ſays of *Agrippa*, *L.* 53.

**Velleius* gives the following Character of *Mæcenas*.——Equeſtri, ſed ſplendido genere natus, vir ubi res vigiliam exigeret, ſane exſomnis, providens atque agendi ſciens; ſimul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti poſſet, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra feminam fluens: non minus Agrippa Cæſari carus, ſed minus honoratus: quippe vixit anguſto clavo plane contentus; nec majora conſequi non potuit, ſed nunquam concupivit.

Propertius celebrates *Mæcenas* for his Moderation.

> Mæcenas *eques etruſco de ſanguine regum*
> *Intra fortunam qui cupis eſſe tuam.*
>
> L. 3. Eleg. 7.

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reſiſtibly to the Heart. He had naturally an excellent Genius; a ſprightly and elegant Turn; and a good Education and well directed Study had brought to their full Perfection all the generous Seeds Nature had originally ſown in his Mind. We have many Inſtances of his Ability for the Management of the moſt difficult Matters of State: For he by his Dexterity in Politicks drew Aſſiſtance from *Marc Anthony* to drive *Pompey* out of *Sicily*: And after *Auguſtus* was become Maſter, this Favourite

D

Horace commends *Mecænas* for his Taciturnity.

Et quæ rimoſa bene deponuntur in aure.

Hor. Sat. l. 2. 6.

We learn what Power and Intereſt he had with *Auguſtus* from the ſame Satyr,

Imprimat his cura Mecænas *ſigna tabellis.*

See *Hor.* Epod 1.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium
Amice, propugnacula;

I cannot well reconcile this Epode with what the *Abbe de Vertot* ſays of *Mecænas*'s having no Share in the Wars of *Auguſtus*. And according to *Appian* he went with *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* into *Sicily* againſt *Pompey*. And he likewiſe accompanied *Auguſtus* to *Actium*. See *J. Xiphilinus in Auguſto.*——Quas ob res Agrippæ atque Mæcenati tantam poteſtatem detulit Cæſar in rebus omnibus, ut literas quaſcunque ad ſenatum vel alios mitteret, ipſi prius legere poſſent, & ex eis quæ vellent immutare, cujus rei cauſâ annulum ab eo acceperant, quo literas obſignarent. —— Et poſtea, de imperio deponendo Cæſar deliberationem habuit cum Agrippa & Mæcenate, cum quibus communicavit omnia arcana conſilia——Ex his Agrippa conſulebat juſtius. Mæcenas majorem utilitatis rationem habuit.——Cæſar Mæcenati aſſenſus eſt.

But tho' *Mæcenas* is ſaid to have been at *Actium*, as well as in *Sicily* with *Auguſtus*, *Virgil* makes no mention of him in his Deſcription of the Victory at *Actium*, where he ſo highly extols *Agrippa*.

Parte alia, ventis & Diis Agrippa ſecundis,
Arduus agmen agens.

Æn. l. 8. L. 675.

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vourite form'd to himſelf a new Syſtem of Politicks, and thought of nothing then but ſecuring his Prince's Perſon and Authority. Spies retained by him throughout all the different Factions and Cabals, inſtructed him in the Sentiments of thoſe who hated the new Form of Government; and it was the Information he received from them that induced him to perſuade *Auguſtus* to relax a little his Authority to ſecure the more eſſential Part of it. It was likewiſe by his Advice that *Rome* ſtill continued to have Conſuls, Pretors and Ediles, ancient Officers in the Republick *, tho' in Reality they were now merely nominal ones, and had no more but the Shadow of Authority.

Mæcenas carried his Views and Schemes much farther. In Purſuance of his Deſign to make his Prince perſonally eſteemed and his Government loved. He attracted to him all Perſons who could contribute to raiſe his Prince's Glory, Poets, Orators and Hiſtorians. He brought them about him, loaded them with Honours and Benefactions, and introduced them to the Emperor. His obliging Manner procured him univerſal Love; and Perſons of the greateſt Conſideration and Figure, frequented with Pleaſure the polite and learned Conferences held at his Houſe. There the Prince's Merit was highly extolled, and his Praiſes ſpreading from hence over the whole Empire, inſenſibly ſweetned the Tempers of all ſorts

* *Velleius* ſays,——— Reſtituta vis legibus, judiciis auctoritas, ſenatui majeſtas; imperium magiſtratuum ad priſtinum redactum modum: tantummodo octo prætoribus allecti duo; priſca illa & antiqua Reip. forma revocata, *l*2 *c*. 89. But *Tacitus* more truly, Domi res tranquillæ, *eadem magiſtratuum vocabula*, ——igitur verſo civitatis ſtatu nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris: omnis exuta æqualitate juſſa principis aſpectare. *Ann. l*. 1.

Machivael in one of his Diſcourſes on *Livy* obſerves, that the moſt effectual Way for a Tyrant to make real Changes, is to preſerve the ancient Names of Offices and Things; for the Populace ſeldom ſees beyond them.

Eſt enim omnis dominationis novæ arcanum primarium, ſimulatio antiquæ. *Boecler*.

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ſorts of Perſons and converted their Envy and Hatred into Admiration ‡.

Such a happy Change was chiefly *Mæcenas*'s Work: So that if *Agrippa* made his Maſter triumph over a thouſand publick Dangers and all his open Enemies; *Mæcenas* on the other Hand diſarmed his ſecret ones; reconciled free Men to Servitude, and rendered Monarchy, ſo hateful to Republicans, tolerable even to them.

‡ See *Sueton. D. Oct.* c. 57. But ſee likewiſe *Tacitus. Ann. l.* 1. in the Beginning.

Cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit. —— Quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur: ac novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & periculoſa mallent, &c.

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A CHARACTER of

Auguſtus, *Mæcenas* and *Horace*;

With ſome Reflections on the

Works of *HORACE*,

By the Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

'TWAS the Fate of *Rome* to have ſcarce an intermediate Age, or ſingle Period of Time, between the Riſe of Arts and Fall of Liberty. No ſooner had that Nation begun to loſe the Roughneſs and Barbarity of their Manners, and learn of *Greece* to form their Heroes, their Orators and Poets on a right Model, than by their unjuſt Attempt upon the Liberty of the World they juſtly loſt their own. With their Liberty they loſt not only their Force of Eloquence, but even their Stile and Language it ſelf. The Poets who afterwards aroſe among them were mere unnatural and forc'd Plants. Their two moſt accompliſh'd, who came laſt, and clos'd the Scene, were plainly ſuch as had ſeen the Days of Liberty, and felt the ſad Effects of its Departure

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ture. Nor had theſe been ever brought into Play, otherwiſe than thro' the Friendſhip of the fam'd *Mæcenas*, who turn'd a Prince naturally cruel and barbarous, to the Love and Courtſhip of the Muſes. Theſe Tutoreſſes form'd in their Royal Pupil a new Nature. They taught him how to charm Mankind. They were more to him than his Arms or military Virtue; and more than *Fortune* herſelf, aſſiſted him in his Greatneſs, and made his uſurped Dominion ſo enchanting to the World, that it could ſee without Regret, its Chains of Bondage firmly rivetted. The corrupting Sweets of ſuch a poiſonous Government were not indeed long liv'd. The Bitter ſoon ſucceeded: And, in the Iſſue, the World was forc'd to bear with Patience thoſe natural and genuine Tyrants, who ſucceeded to this ſpecious Machine of arbitrary and univerſal Power.*

Whoever has a thorow Taſte of the Wit and Manner of *Horace*, if he only compares his Epiſtle to *Auguſtus*, with the ſecret Character of that Prince, from *Suetonius* and

* This Character of *Auguſtus* is in the main very conformable to that given by the *Abbe de Vertot*; and the Reflections on the fall of the Arts with Liberty are nearly the ſame with thoſe of *Tacitus* in the beginning of his firſt Book of Hiſtory. Prioris ævi annos multi auctores retulerunt: Dum res populi Romani memorabantur, *pari eloquentia* ac libertate. Poſtquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem poteſtatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit; *magna illa ingenia ceſſere.* Compare with this what he ſays in the Beginning of the firſt Book of Annals. —— Sed veteris reipublicæ adverſa vel proſpera, claris ſcriptoribus memorata ſunt: temporibuſque Auguſti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliſcente adulatione deterrerentur. —— He draws a lively Picture of the happy Times in which alone great Genius's can appear or flouriſh, in theſe Words, ſpeaking of *Trajan* and the four other good Emperors under whom polite Learning, uſeful Science and ingenious Arts revived: *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* However faſhionable it now is to ſpeak of the Age of *Alexander* the Great, and the *Auguſtan* Age, that was not the ancient Style. Philoſophy and the Arts are ſaid by the Ancients to have been at their Height in *Greece*, *circa Socratis tempora*; and in *Rome*, *circa tempora Ciceronis.*

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and other Authors, will eaſily find what Judgment that Poet made of the *Roman* Taſte, even in the Perſon of his Sovereign and admir'd *Roman* Prince, whoſe natural Love of amphitheatrical Spectacles and other Entertainments (little accommodated to the Intereſt of the Muſes) is there ſufficiently inſinuated.* The Prince indeed was (as it is ſaid above) obliged in the higheſt Degree to his poetical and witty Friends, for guiding his Taſte, and forming his Manners, as they really did, with good Effect, and great Advantage to his Intereſt. Witneſs what even that flattering Court Hiſtorian, *Dion*, relates of the frank Treatment which that Prince received from his Friend *Mæcenas*; who was forc'd to draw him from his bloody Tribunal and murderous Delight, with the Reproach of, *Surge vero tandem, carnifex!* But *Horace* according to his Character and Circumſtances, was oblig'd to take a finer and more conceal'd Manner, both with the Prince and Favourite. †

Omne vafer vitium, ridenti Flaccus *amico*
Tangit, & admiſſus circum praecordia ludit.
Perſeus Sat. I.

With-

* ——————*media inter carmina poſcunt*
Aut urſum, aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equitis quoque; jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis, ad incertos oculos, & gaudia vana.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

† We may add what *Tacitus* or *Quintilian* remarks on the Subject of the *Roman* Taſte. *Jam vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, his hiſtrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque ſtudia: quibus occupatus & obſeſſus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit*
Dialog. de oratoribus, *c.* 29.

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Without a Capacity for Action and a Knowledge of the World and Mankind, there can be no Author naturally qualify'd to write with Dignity, or execute any noble or great Design. But there are many, who with the higheſt Capacity for Buſineſs, are by their Fortune deny'd the Priviledge of that higher Sphere. As there are others, who having once moved in it, have been afterwards, by many Impediments and Obſtructions neceſſitated to retire and exert their Genius in this lower Degree. 'Tis to ſome Cataſtrophe of this Kind that we owe the nobleſt Hiſtorians (even the two Princes and Fathers of Hiſtory) as well as the greateſt philoſophical Writers, the Founder of the Academy and others who were alſo noble in reſpect of their Birth, and fitted for the higheſt Stations in the Publick; but diſcouraged from engaging in it, on account of ſome Misfortunes experienced either in their own Perſons, or that of their near Friends.

'Tis to the early Baniſhment and long Retirement of a heroick Youth out of his Native Country, that we owe an original Syſtem of Works, the politeſt, wiſeſt, uſefulleſt, and (to thoſe who can underſtand the Divineneſs of a juſt Simplicity) the moſt amiable,* and even the moſt elevating and exalting of all un-inſpir'd and merely human Authors. To this Fortune we owe ſome of the greateſt of the ancient Poets. 'Twas this Chance that produced the Muſe of an exalted *Grecian Lyrick*; and of his Follower *Horace*; whoſe Character, tho' eaſy to be gather'd from Hiſtory

* Τὸν ἡδίσου καὶ χαριέσατον Ξενοφῶντα, as *Athenæus* calls him, *l.* xi.

† *Et te ſonantem plenius aureo,*
Alcæe, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli.
Hor. l. 2. Od. 13.

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Hiſtory and his own Works, is little obſerved by any of his Commentators.

The general Idea conceived of him being drawn chiefly from his precarious and low Circumſtances at Court, after the Forfeiture of his Eſtate, under the Uſurpation and Conqueſt of an *Octavius*, and the Miniſtry of a *Mæcenas*; not from his better Condition, and nobler Employments in earlier Days, under the Favour and Friendſhip of greater and better Men, whilſt the *Roman* State and Liberty ſubſiſted. For of this Change he himſelf, as great a Courtier as he ſeem'd afterwards, gives ſufficient Intimation.

Dura ſed amovere loco me tempora grato,
Civiliſque rudem belli tulit æſtus in arma,
Cæſaris Auguſti *non reſponſura lacertis.*
Unde ſimul primum me dimiſere Philippi,
Deciſis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris & fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut verſus facerem.

Hor. l. 2. Ep. 2. v. 47.

——— *at olim,*
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

Lib. 1. Ep. 20. v. 23.

vir.

Athenæus calls him *fortiſſimus ac belliger poeta*, l. 5. & l. 64.

Cicero calls him Tuſ. l. 4. Fortis vir Alcæus in patria ſua cognitus, &c. Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, quia tyrannos inſectatur: multum etiam moribus confert: in eloquendo quoque brevis & magnificus & diligens, Homero ſimilis: ſed & in luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus tamen aptior. *Quin. l.* 10. *c.* 1. *Dionyſius Hali.* ſays much the ſame of him.

———*age, dic Latinum,*
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi:
Qui ferox bello, &c. Hor. l. Od. 52. v. 3.

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Viz. 12. Under *Brutus*, whence again that natural Boaſt,

Me primis urbis belli placuiſſe domique.
Lib. 1. Ep. 20. v. 23.

And again,
Cum magnis vixiſſe invita fatebitur uſque
Invidia: Lib. 2. Sat. i. v. 76.

Where the *vixiſſe* ſhews plainly whom he principally meant by his *Magnis*, his early Patrons and great Men in the State.

His Apology and Defence here (as well as in his fourth and ſixth Satyrs of his firſt Book, and his ſecond Epiſtle of his ſecond and elſewhere) being ſupported ſtill by the open and bold Aſſertion of his good Education (equal to the higheſt Senators, and under the beſt Maſters) his Employments at Home and Abroad, and his early Commerce and Familiarity with former great Men, before theſe his new Friendſhips, and this latter Court Acquaintance, which was now envy'd him by his Adverſaries.

Nunc, quia Mæcenas *ſibi ſim convictor, at olim*
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana Tribuno.
Lib. 1. Sat. 6. v. 47.

The Reproach now was with reſpect to a *Mæcenas* or *Auguſtus*. 'Twas the ſame formerly with reſpect to a *Brutus*, and thoſe who were then the principal and leading Men. The Complaint or Murmur againſt him on account of his being an *Upſtart* or *Favourite* under a

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Mæcenas and *Auguſtus*, could not be anſwered, by a *vixiſſe* relating to the ſame Perſons; any more than his *placuiſſe* join'd with his *belli domique*, could relate to thoſe under whom he never went to War, nor would ever conſent to bear any Honours. For ſo he himſelf diſtinguiſhes to *Mæcenas*.

——— *Qua non, ut forſit honorem,*
Jure mihi invideat quivis ita te quoque amicum.

ibid. v. 49.

He was formerly *an Actor* and in the Miniſtry of Affairs: Now only a Friend to a Miniſter: Himſelf ſtill a private and retir'd Man. That he refus'd *Auguſtus*'s Offer of the Secretary-ſhip is well known. But in theſe Circumſtances, the Politeneſs as well as Artifice of *Horace* is admirable, in making Futurity or Poſterity to be the ſpeaking Party in both thoſe Places, where he ſuggeſts his Intimacy and Favour with the Great, that there might, in ſome Meaſure, be room left (tho' in Strictneſs there was ſcarce any) for an *Octavius* and a *Mæcenas* to be included.

The ſame excellent Author calls *Horace* the beſt Genius and moſt Gentleman-like of *Roman* Poets. And ſpeaking of epiſtolary Writings he hath this Remark. It will be own'd ſurely by thoſe who have learned to judge of Elegancy and Wit, by the Help merely of modern Languages, that we could have little Reliſh of the the beſt Letters of a *Balſac* or *Voiture*, were we wholly ignorant of the Characters of the principal Perſons to whom thoſe Letters were actually written. But much leſs could we find Pleaſure in this Reading, ſhould we take it into our Heads, that both the Perſonage and Correſpondency

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reſpondency it ſelf were merely fictitious. Let the beſt of *Tully*'s Epiſtles be read in ſuch a narrow View as this, and they will certainly prove very inſipid. If a real *Brutus*, a real *Atcicus* be not ſuppoſed, there will be no real *Cicero*. The elegant Writer will diſappear, as well the vaſt Labour and Art with which this eloquent *Roman* wrote thoſe Letters to his illuſtrious Friends. There was no Kind of Compoſition in which this great Author prided or pleaſed himſelf more than this; where he endeavoured to throw off the Mein of the Philoſopher and Orator, whilſt in Effect he employed both his Rhetorick and Philoſophy with the greateſt Force.

They who can read an Epiſtle or Satyr of *Horace*, in ſomewhat better than a mere ſcholaſtick Reliſh, will comprehend that the *Concealment of Order and Method* in this Manner of Writing makes the chief Beauty of the Work. They will own, that unleſs a Reader be in ſome Meaſure appriz'd of the Characters of an *Auguſtus*, a *Mæcenas*, a *Florus*, or a *Trebatius*, there will be little Reliſh in thoſe Satyrs or Epiſtles addreſſed in particular to the Courtiers, Miniſters and great Men of the Times. Even the ſatyrick or miſcellaneous Manner of the polite Ancients, required as much Order as the moſt regular Pieces. But the Art was to deſtroy every ſuch Token or Appearance, give an extemporary Air to what was writ, and make the Effect of Art be felt, without diſcovering the Artifice.

This excellent Author makes ſome admirable Obſervations on ſeveral Paſſages of *Horace*, which ſhew at once what Criticiſm ought to do, and how well skilled one muſt be in the ancient Philoſophy to underſtand

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the true Spirit and all the Beauties of many of *Horace*'s Epiſtles and Satyrs.

" *Horace*, ſays he, in one of his lateſt Epiſtles of the " deeply philoſophical Kind, where he ſays,

Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui;
Ultra, quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.
Lib. 1. Ep. 6.

And in the Beginning of the ſame Epiſtle,

Nil admirari, prope res eſt una, Numici,
Solaq; quæ poſſit facere & ſervare beatum,

alludes to that ſubdued or moderated Admiration or Zeal in the higheſt Subjects of Virtue and Divinity, ſo earneſtly recommended by the Philoſophers: called by *Arrian* [*regular and compos'd Appetite,*] the contrary Diſpoſition [*diſproportionate and impetuous, l. 3. c. 22.* and *l. 2. c. 26.*] See *Epicteti Enchiridion, c. 7.* The Reaſon why this over forward Ardor and Purſuit of high Subjects runs naturally into Enthuſiaſm and Diſorder is ſhewn in what ſucceeds the firſt of theſe Paſſages here cited, And hence the repeated Injunction [*Bridle with all your Might every Affection and Appetite that you may affect and deſire in due Order, and with entire Self-command.* Lib. 3. c. 13.]

To this *Horace* alludes. For tho' theſe firſt Lines (as many more of *Horace*'s on the Subject of Philoſophy) have the Air of the *Epicurean* Diſcipline and *Lucretian* Style; yet by the Whole taken together, it appears evidently on what Syſtem of ancient Philophy this Epiſtle

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was form'd. Nor was this Prohibition of the *wondering* or *admiring* Habit in early Students, peculiar to one Kind of Philoſophy alone. It was common to many; however the Reaſon and Account of it might differ, in one Sect from the other. The *Pythagoreans* ſufficiently check'd their *Tyro*'s by ſilencing them ſo long on their firſt Courtſhip to Philoſophy. And tho' Admiration in the perpatetick Senſe may be juſtly called the inclining Principle or firſt Motive to Philoſophy; yet this Miſtreſs when once eſpouſed teaches us to admire after a different Manner from what we did before:

We can admire nothing profoundly without a certain religious Veneration. And becauſe this borders ſo much on Fear, and raiſes a certain Tremor or Horror of like Appearance; 'tis eaſy to give that Turn to the Affection, and repreſent all *Enthuſiaſm* and religious Extaſy, as the Product or mere Effect of Art

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor.

But the original Paſſion is of another Kind, and in effect is ſo confeſſed by thoſe who are the greateſt Oppoſers of Religion; for they have ſhewn themſelves ſufficiently convinced, *That altho' the Ideas of Divinity and Beauty were vain, they were yet in a Manner innate, or ſuch as Men were really born to, and could hardly by any Means avoid.* Now as all Affections have their Exceſs, and require Judgment and Diſcretion to moderate and govern them; ſo this high and noble Affection which raiſes Man to Action, and is his Guide in Buſineſs as well as Pleaſure, requires a ſteady Rein and ſtrict Hand over it. All Moraliſts worthy of any Name have recognized

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the Paſſion; tho' among theſe the Wiſeſt have preſcrib'd Reſtraint, preſs'd Moderation, and to all *Tyro*'s in Philoſophy forbid the forward Uſe of Admiration, Rapture or Extaſy, even in the Subjects they eſteemed the higheſt and moſt Divine. They knew very well that the firſt Motion, Appetite and Ardour of the Youth in general towards Philoſophy and Knowledge depended chiefly on this Turn of Temper: Yet were they well appriz'd withal, that in the Progreſs of this Study, as well as in the Affairs of Life, the florid Ideas and exalted Fancy of this Kind became the Fuel of many incendiary Paſſions; and that in religious Concerns particularly, the Habit of Admiration and contemplative Delight, would by over Indulgence, eaſily mount into high *Fanaticiſm*, or degenerate into too abject *Superſtition*. So the *Stagyrite*. *Metap. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

Accordingly (as the learned Maſters in this Science adviſe,) we are to begin, rather by the Averſe than by the prone and forward Diſpoſition. We are to work rather by the weaning than the engaging Paſſions; ſince if we give way chiefly to *Inclination* by loving, applauding and admiring what is Great and Good, we may poſſibly, it ſeems, in ſome high Objects of that Kind, be ſo amus'd and extaſied as to loſe our ſelves and miſs our proper Mark for want of a ſteady and ſettled Aim. But being more ſure and infallible in what relates to our ill, we ſhould begin, they tell us, by applying our Averſion on that Side, and raiſing our Indignation againſt thoſe Meaneſſes of Opinion and Sentiment which are the Cauſes of our Subjection and Perplexity.

The

* *Plutarch* tells us in his Life of *Cato major*, it was the Complaint of ſome of the four old *Romans*, when Learning firſt came to them from *Greece*, that their Youth grew *enthuſiaſtick* with Philoſophy.

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The ſame Author thus comments upon that Paſſage in the Art of Poetry,

Scribendi recte, ſapere eſt et principium et fons,
Rem tibi Socratice poterunt oſtendere chartæ:

Whoever has been an Obſerver of Action and Grace in human Bodies, muſt of Neceſſity have diſcovered the great Difference in this Reſpect, between ſuch Perſons as have been taught by Nature only, and ſuch as by Reflection, and the Aſſiſtance of Art have learn'd to form thoſe Motions which on Experience are found the eaſieſt and moſt natural. Of the former Kind are either theſe good Ruſticks who have been bred remote from the formed Societies of Men; or thoſe plain Artizans and People of lower Rank, who living in Cities and Places of Reſort, have been neceſſitated however to follow mean Employments, and wanted the Opportunities and Means to form themſelves after the better Models. There are ſome Perſons indeed ſo happily form'd by Nature herſelf, that with the greateſt Simplicity or Rudeneſs of Education, they have ſtill ſomething of a natural Grace and Comelineſs in their Action: And there are others of a better Education, who by a wrong Aim and injudicious Affectation of Grace, are of all People the furtheſt removed from it. 'Tis undeniable however, that the Perfection of Grace and Comelineſs in Action and Behaviour, can be found only among the People of a liberal Education. And even among the graceful of this Kind, thoſe

thoſe are ſtill found the gracefulleſt, who early in their Youth have learn'd their Exerciſes and formed their Motions under the beſt Maſters.

Now ſuch as theſe Maſters and their Leſſons are to a fine Gentleman, ſuch are *Philoſophers* and *Philoſophy* to an Author. The Caſe is the ſame in the *faſhionable*, and in the *literate World*. In the former of theſe 'tis remark'd, That by the Help of good Company, and the Force of Example merely, a decent Carriage is acquired with ſuch apt Motions and ſuch a Freedom of Limbs, as on all ordinary Occaſions may enable the Party to demean himſelf like a Gentleman. But when upon further Occaſion Trial is made in an extraordinary Way; when Exerciſes of the genteeler Kind are to be performed in Publick, it will eaſily appear who of the Pretenders have been form'd by Rudiments and had Maſters in private; and who on the other Side have contented themſelves with bare Imitations and learn'd their Part caſually and by rote. The Parallel is eaſily made on the Side of Writers. They have at leaſt as much Need of learning the ſeveral Motions, Counterpoiſes, and Ballances of the Mind and Paſſions, as the other Students thoſe of the Body and Limbs.

Scribendi recte, ſapere eſt et principium & fons.

The Gallant, no doubt, may pen a Letter to his Miſtreſs, a Courtier a compliment to the *Miniſter*, or the Miniſter to the *Favourite* above him, without going ſuch vaſt Depths into Learning or Philoſophy. But for theſe privileg'd Gentleman, tho' they ſet Faſhions and preſcribe

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ſcribe Rules in other Caſes, they are no Controulers in the Commonwealth of Letters. Nor are they preſumed to write to the Age, or for remote Poſterity. Their Works are not of a Nature to intitle them to hold the Rank of Authors, or be ſtil'd Writers by Way of Excellence in the Kind. Should their Ambition lead them into ſuch a Field, they would be oblig'd to come otherwiſe equip'd. They who enter the publick Liſts muſt come duly train'd, and exerciſed like well appointed Cavaliers, expert in Arms, and well inſtructed in the Uſe of their Weapon and Management of their Steed. For to be well accouter'd, and well mounted, is not ſufficient. The Horſe alone can never make the Horſeman; nor Limbs the Wreſtler or the Dancer. No more can a Genius alone make a Poet; or good Parts, a Writer in any conſiderable Kind. The Skill and Grace of Writing is founded *as our wiſe Poet tells us* in *Knowledge* and *good Senſe*: And not barely in that Knowledge which is to be learn'd from common Authors, or the general Converſation of the World; but from thoſe particular Rules of Art, which Philoſophy alone exhibits.

The philoſophical Writings to which our Poet in his Art of Poetry refers,

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ.

Like the *Mimes* or perſonated Pieces of early Times, before Philoſophy was in Vogue, and when as yet *dramatical Imitation* was ſcarce form'd; or at leaſt, in many Parts, not brought to due Perfection. They were Pieces which, beſides their Force of Stile and hidden Numbers, carry'd a ſort of Action and Imitation, the ſame as

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the *Epick* and *Dramatick* Kinds. They were either real *Dialogues* or Recitals of such personated Discourses; where the Persons themselves had their Characters preserv'd throughout; their Manners, Humours and distinct Turns of Temper and Understanding maintain'd according to the most exact poetical Truth. 'Twas not enough that these Pieces treated fundamentally of Morals, and in Consequence pointed out real Characters and Manners. They exhibited them alive, and set the Countenances and Complexions of Men plainly in View. And by this Means they not only taught us to know others; but what was principal and of highest Virtue in them, they taught us to know our selves.

The philosophical Hero of these Poems, whose Name they carry'd both in their Body and Front, and whose Genius and Manner they were made to represent, was in himself a perfect Character; yet in some respects so veil'd and in a Cloud, that to the unattentive Surveyor he seem'd often to be very different from what he really was; and this chiefly by reason of a certain exquisite and refin'd Raillery which belong'd to his Manner, and by Virtue of which he could treat the highest Subjects and those of the commonest Capacity both together, and render them explanatory of each other. So that in this Genius of Writing, there appear'd both the *Heroick* and the *Simple*, the *Tragick* and the *Comick* Vein. However it was so ordered, that notwithstanding the Oddness or Mysteriousness of the principal Character, the *under Parts* or *second Characters* shew'd human Nature more distinctly and to the Life. We might here therefore, as in a Looking-glass, discover our selves, and see our minutest Features nicely delineated, and suited to our own Apprehension and Cognizance. No one who was ever

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ever ſo little an Inſpector, could fail of becoming acquainted with his own Heart: And what was of ſingular Note in theſe *magical Glaſſes* it would happen, that by conſtant and long Inſpection, the Parties accuſtomed to the Practice, would acquire a peculiar *ſpeculative Habit*; ſo as virtually to carry about with them a ſort of Pocket Mirrour, always ready, and in Uſe. In this there were two Faces, which would naturally preſent themſelves to our View: One of them like the commanding Genius, the Leader and Chief above mention'd; the other like that rude, undiſciplin'd and head-ſtrong Creature, whom we our ſelves in our natural Capacity moſt exactly reſembled. Whatever we were employ'd in, whatever we ſet about; if once we had acquir'd the Habit of this Mirrour; we ſhould by Virtue of the double Reflection diſtinguiſh our ſelves into two different Parties. And in this *Dramatick* Method the Work of Self-inſpection would proceed with admirable Succeſs.

'It is no Wonder that the primitive Poets were eſteemed ſuch Sages in their Times; ſince it appears they were ſuch well-practis'd *Dialogiſts*, and accuſtom'd to this improving Method before ever Philoſophy had adopted it. Their *Mimes* or characteris'd Diſcourſes were as much reliſhed, as their moſt regular Poems; and were the Occaſion perhaps that ſo many of theſe latter were formed in ſuch Perfection. For Poetry it ſelf was defined an *Imitation* chiefly of Men and Manners: And was that in an exalted and noble Degree, which in a low one we call *Mimickry*. 'Tis in this that the great *Mimographer* †, the Father and Prince of Poets excells ſo highly; his Characters being wrought to a Likeneſs be-

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† *Ariſtot.* de Poet. *c.* 24.

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yond what any ſucceeding Maſters were ever able to deſcribe. Nor are his Works, which are ſo full of Action any other than an artful Series or Chain of *Dialogues*, which turn upon one remarkable *Cataſtrophe* or *Event*. He deſcribes no Qualities or Virtues; cenſures no Manners; makes no Encomiums, nor gives Characters himſelves, but brings his Actors ſtill in View. 'Tis they who ſhew themſelves. 'Tis they who ſpeak in ſuch a Manner as diſtinguiſhes them in all Things from all others, and makes them ever like themſelves. Their different Compoſitions and Allays ſo juſtly made, and equally carry'd on, thro' every Particle of the Action give more Inſtruction than all the Comments or Gloſſes in the World. The Poet inſtead of giving himſelf thoſe dictating and maſterly Airs of Wiſdom makes hardly any Figure at all, and is ſcarce diſcoverable in his Poem. This is being truly a Maſter. He paints ſo as to need no Inſcription over his Figures, to tell us what they are, or what he intends by them. A few Words let fall, on any ſlight Occaſion, from any of the Parties he introduces, are ſufficient to denote their Manners and diſtinct Character. From a Finger or a Toe, he can repreſent to our Thoughts the Frame and Faſhion of a whole Body. He wants no other Help of Art, to perſonate his Heroes, and make them living.

There was no more left for Tragedy to do after him, than to erect a Stage, and draw his Dialogues and Characters into Scenes; turning in the ſame Manner, upon one principal Action or Event, with that regard to Time and Place which was ſuitable to a real Spectacle. Even Comedy it ſelf was adjudg'd to this great Maſter, it being derived from thoſe *Parodys* or mock Humours, of which

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which he had given the Specimen in a concealed ſort of Raillery, intermix'd with the Sublime. —— A dangerous Stroke of Art! And which required a maſterly Hand, like that of the philoſophical Hero, whoſe Character was repreſented in the *Dialogue* Writings above mentioned.

From hence poſſibly we may form a Notion of that Reſemblance, which on ſo many Occaſions was heretofore remark'd between the Prince of Poets and the Divine Philoſopher, who was ſaid to rival him, and who together with his Contemporaries of the ſame School, writ wholly in that Manner of Dialogue above deſcrib'd. From hence too we may comprehend, perhaps, why the Study of Dialogue was heretofore thought ſo advantageous to Writers; and why this Manner of Writing was judg'd ſo difficult, which at firſt Sight, it muſt be own'd appears the eaſieſt of any.

Thus much for Antiquity and thoſe Rules of Art, thoſe philoſophical Sea-cards by which the adventrous Genius's of the Times were wont to ſteer their Courſes, and govern their impetuous Muſe. Theſe were the *Chartæ* of our *Roman Maſter Poet*, and theſe the Pieces of Art, the *Mirrours*, the *Exemplars* he bids us place before our Eyes.

——— *Vos Exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna verſate manu, verſate diurna.

And thus Poetry and the Writer's Art, as in many Reſpects it reſembles the Statuary's and the Painter's; ſo in this more particularly, that it has its original *Draughts* and *Models* for Study and Practice; not

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not for Oſtentation, to be ſhown abroad, or copied for publick View. Theſe are the ancient *Buſts*; the *Trunks* of Statues; the Pieces of *Anatomy*; the maſterly rough Drawings which are kept within; as the ſecret Learning, the Myſtery, and fundamental Knowledge of the Art. There is this eſſential Difference however, between the Artiſts of each Kind; that they who deſign merely after Bodies, and form the Graces of this Sort, can never with all their Accuracy or Correctneſs of Deſign be able to reform themſelves, or grow a jot more ſhapely in their Perſons. But for thoſe Artiſts who copy from another Life, who ſtudy the Graces and Perfections of Minds, and are real Maſters of thoſe Rules which conſtitute this latter Science, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould fail of being themſelves improved and amended in their *better Part*.

I muſt confeſs there is hardly any where to be found a more inſipid Race of Mortals, than thoſe whom we Moderns are contented to call *Poets*, for having attain'd the chiming Faculty of a Language, with an injudicious random Uſe of Wit and Fancy. But for the Man who truly and in a juſt Senſe deſerves the Name of *Poet*, and who as a real Maſter or Architect in the Kind, can deſcribe both Men and Manners, and give to an Action its juſt Body and Proportions; he will be found, if I miſtake not, a very different Creature. Such a Poet is indeed a ſecond *Maker*; a juſt *Prometheus*, under *Jove*. Like that ſovereign Artiſt or univerſal plaſtick Nature, he forms a Whole, coherent and proportion'd in it ſelf with due Subjection and Subordinacy of conſtituent Parts. He notes the Boundaries of the Paſſions, and knows their

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exact Tones and Meaſures; by which he juſtly repreſents them, marks *the ſublime* of the Sentiments and Action, and diſtinguiſhes the *Beautiful* from the *Deformed*, the *Amiable* from the *Odious*. The moral Artiſt, who can thus imitate the Creator, and is thus knowing in the inward Form and Structure of his Fellow-creature, will hardly, I preſume, be found unknowing in himſelf, or at a Loſs in thoſe Numbers which make the Harmony of a Mind. For Knavery is mere *Diſſonance* and *Diſproportion*. And tho' *Villains* may have ſtrong *Tones* and natural Capacities of Action; 'tis impoſſible that true *Judgment* and Ingenuity ſhould reſide, where *Harmony* and Honeſty have no Being.

So much the Poet muſt neceſſarily borrow of the Philoſopher, as to be Maſter of the common Topicks of Morality, and to have a Senſe of that moral Truth, on which poetick Truth and Beauty muſt naturally depend.

Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, & quid amicis,
Quo ſit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hoſpes,
Quod ſit conſcripti, quod judicis officium
---- ille profecto.
Reddere perſonæ ſcit convenientia cuiq;

He muſt, at leaſt, be ſpeciouſly honeſt, and in all Appearance, a Friend to Virtue throughout his Poem. The Good and Wiſe will abate him nothing in this Kind. And the People, tho' corrupt, are in the main beſt ſatisfied with this Conduct.

---- Specioſa

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--- Speciosa locis, morataque recte
Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
Valdius oblectat populum, meliusque moratur
Quam versus inopes rerum, nugæq; canoræ.

Horat. de Arte Poet.

What the same admirable Writer says upon the Succession and Lineage of Poetry, is an excellent Key to the whole Art of Poetry of *Horace.*

'Tis easy to imagine, *says he*, that amidst the several Styles and Manners of Discourse or Writing, the easiest attained, and earliest practised, was the Miraculous, the Pompous, or what we generally call the Sublime. Astonishment is of all the Passions the easiest rais'd in raw and unexperienced Mankind. Children in their earliest Infancy are entertain'd in this Manner: And the known Way of pleasing such as these, is to make them wonder, and lead the Way for them in this Passion by a feign'd Surprise at the miraculous Objects we set before them. The best Musick of Barbarians is hideous and astonishing Sounds. And the fine Sights of *Indians* are enormous Figures, various, odd and glaring Colours, and whatever of that Sort is amazingly beheld with a Kind of Horror and Consternation. In Poetry and studied Prose the astonishing Part, or what commonly passes for the Sublime, is formed by the Variety of Figures*, the multiplicity of Metaphors, and by quitting as much as possible the natural and easy Way of Expression, for that which is most unlike to Humanity or ordinary Use.

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This the Prince of Criticks * aſſures us to have been the Manner of the earlieſt Poets before the Age of *Homer*; or till ſuch Time as this Father Poet came into Repute, who depos'd that ſpurious Race, and gave Riſe to a legitimate and genuine Kind. He retained only what was decent of the figurative or metaphorick Style, introduc'd the Natural and Simple, and turn'd his Thoughts towards the real Beauty of Compoſition, the Unity of Deſign, the Truth of Characters, and the juſt Imitation of Nature in each Particular.

The Manner of this Father Poet was afterwards variouſly imitated and divided into ſeveral Shares; eſpecially when it came to be copied in Dramatick. Tragedy came firſt, and took what was moſt ſolemn and ſublime. In this Part the Poets ſucceeded ſooner than in Comedy or the facetious Kind; as was natural indeed to ſuppoſe, ſince this was in Reality the eaſieſt Manner of the two, and capable of being brought the ſooneſt to Perfection. For ſo the ſame Prince of Criticks † ſufficiently inform us. And 'tis highly worth remarking, what this mighty Genius and Judge of Art declares concerning Tragedy; that whatever Idea might be form'd of the utmoſt Perfection of this Kind of Poem, it could in Practice riſe no higher than it had been already carried in

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* *Ariſtotle* de Poet. cap. 22. This the ſame Maſter-Critick explains further in his Rhetoricks, *l.* 3. *c.* 1. where he refers to theſe Paſſages of his Poeticks. That among the early Reformers of this bombaſtick Manner he places *Homer* as the chief, we may eaſily ſee in his Poeticks, as particularly chap. 24.

† *Ariſtotle de Poet.* cap. 4. & 5.

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his Time*. " Having at length, *says he*, attain'd it's " Ends, and being apparently Conſummate in it ſelf." But for Comedy it ſeems it was ſtill in Hand. It had been already in ſome Manner reduced, but as he plainly intimates, it lay yet unfiniſh'd; notwithſtanding the witty Labours of an *Ariſtophanes* and the other comick Poets of the firſt Manner who had flouriſh'd a whole Age before this Critick. As perfect as were thoſe Wits in Style and Language; and as fertile in all the Varieties and Turns of Humour; yet the Truth of Characters, the Beauty of Order, and the ſimple Imitation of Nature were in a Manner wholly unknown to them; or thro' petulancy, or debauch of Humour were, it ſeems, neglected and ſet aſide. A *Menander* had not as yet appear'd; who aroſe ſoon after to accompliſh the Prophecy of our grand Maſter of Art and conſummate Philologiſt.

Comedy had † at this Time done little more than what the ancient Parodies ‡ had before it. 'Twas of

* Cap. 4. So true a Prophet as well as Critick was this great Man. For by the Event it appeared that Tragedy being rais'd to its Height by *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and no Room left for further Excellence or Emulation, there were no more tragick Poets beſides theſe endured after the Author's Time. Whilſt Comedy went on, improving ſtill to the ſecond and third Degree; Tragedy finiſh'd its Courſe under *Euripides*: Whom, tho' our great Author criticiſes with the utmoſt Severity in his Poeticks, yet he plainly enough confeſſes to have carried the Stile of Tragedy to its full Height and Dignity. For as to the Reformation which that Poet made in the Uſe of the ſublime and figurative Speech in general; ſee what our diſcerning Author ſays in his Rhetoricks: Where he ſtrives to ſhew the Impertinence and Nauſeouſneſs of the florid Speakers, and ſuch as underſtood not the Uſe of the ſimple and natural Manner. *The juſt Maſters and right Managers*, ſays he, *of the poetick or high Stile ſhould learn how to conceal the Manner as much as poſſible.* Rhet. Lib. 3. cap. 2.

† *Ariſtotle Poet. cap.* 4. No Wonder if in this deſcent Comedy came late. See the following Notes.

‡ The Parodies were very ancient; but they were in Reality no other than mere burleſque or Farce. Comedy which borrow'd ſomething from thoſe

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of admirable Uſe to explode the falſe Sublime of early Poets, and ſuch as in its own Age were on every Occaſion ready to relapſe into that vicious Manner. The good Tragedians themſelves could hardly eſcape its Laſhes. The pompous Orators were its never failing Subjects. Every Thing which might be impoſing by a falſe Gravity or Solemnity was forc'd to endure the Trial of this Touch-ſtone. Manners and Characters as well as Speech and Writings, were diſcuſſed with the greateſt Freedom. Nothing could be better fitted than this Genius of Wit, to unmask the Face of Things, and remove thoſe larvæ naturally form'd from the tragick Manner, and pompous Style which had preceded.

‡ *Et decuit magnumque loqui nitiq; cothurno*
Succeſſit vetus his comœdia.——.

Hor. Arte Poet.

thoſe Humours, as well as from the *Rhetica*, was not however raiſed to any Form or Shape of Art, till about the Time of *Ariſtophanes*, who was of the firſt Model, and a Beginner of the Kind; at the ſame Time that Tragedy had undergone all its Changes, and was already come to its laſt Perfection, as the good Critick has ſhewn us; and as other Authorities plainly evince.

‡ The immediate preceeding Verſes of *Horace*, after his having ſpoken of the firſt Tragedy under *Theſpis* are,

Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit, &c.

Before the Time of *Theſpis*, Tragedy was ſaid to be as *Horace* calls it here (in a conciſe Way) *ignotus genus*. It lay in a Kind of Chaos intermix'd with other Kinds, and hardly diſtinguiſhable by its Gravity and Pomp from the Humours which gave Riſe afterwards to Comedy. But in a ſtrict hiſtorical Senſe, as we find *Plato* ſpeaking in his *Minos*, Tragedy was of ancienter Date, and even of the very ancienteſt with the *Athenians*.

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It was not by Chance that this Succeſſion happened in *Greece* after the Manner deſcribed: But rather thro' Neceſſity, and from the Reaſon and Nature of Things. For in healthy Bodies Nature dictates Remedies of her own, and provides for the Cure of what has happen'd amiſs in the Growth and Progreſs of a Conſtitution.

The Affairs of this free People being in the Increaſe; and their Ability and Judgment every Day improving, as Letters and Arts advanc'd; they would of Courſe find in themſelves a Strength of Nature, which by the Help of good Ferments, and a wholeſome Oppoſition of Humours, would correct in one Way whatever was exceſſive or peccant (as Phyſicians ſay) in another. Thus the florid and over-ſanguine Humour of the high Style was allay'd by ſomething of a contrary Nature. The comick Genius was applied as a Kind of Cauſtick to thoſe Exuberances and Funguſes of the ſwoln Dialect, and magnificent Manner of Speech. But after a while even this Remedy it ſelf was found to turn into a Diſeaſe: As Medicines, we know, grow corroſive, when the fouler Matters on which they wrought are ſufficiently purg'd, and the Obſtructions remov'd.

---- in vitium libertas excidit & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, choruſque
Turpiter obticuit, ſublato jure nocendi.

Hor. Arte Poet.

'Tis a great Error to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, that the reſtraining this licentious Manner of Wit *by Law*,

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Law, was a Violation of the Liberty of the *Athenian* State, or an Effect merely of the Power of Foreigners; whom it little concern'd after what Manner thoſe Citizens treated one another in their Comedies; or what ſort of Wit or Humour they made Choice of for their ordinary Diverſions. If upon a Change of Government, as during the Uſurpation of the Thirty, or when that Nation was humbled at any time, either by a *Philip*, an *Alexander* or an *Antipater*, they had been forc'd againſt their Wills, to enact ſuch Laws as theſe; 'tis certain they would have ſoon repealed them, when thoſe Terrors were remov'd (as they ſoon were) and the People reſtored to their former Liberties. For notwithſtanding what this Nation ſuffer'd outwardly, by ſeveral Shocks received from from foreign States; notwithſtanding the Dominion and Power they loſt abroad, they preſerv'd the ſame Government at home. And how paſſionately intereſted they were in what concern'd their Diverſions and publick Spectacles; how jealous and full of Emulation in what related to their Poetry, Wit, Muſick and other Arts, in which they excell'd all other Nations; is well known to Perſons who have any Comprehenſion of ancient Manners, or been the leaſt converſant in Hiſtory.

Nothing therefore could have been the Cauſe of theſe publick Decrees, and of this gradual Reform in the Commonwealth of Wit, beſide the real Reform of *Taſte* and *Humour* in the Commonwealth or Government it ſelf. Inſtead of any Abridgement, it was in Reality, an Increaſe of Liberty, an Enlargement of the Security of Property, and an Advancement of private Eaſe and perſonal Safety,

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Safety, to provide againſt what was injurious to the good Name and Reputation of every Citizen. As this Intelligence in Life and Manners grew greater in that experienc'd People, ſo the Reliſh of Wit and Humour would naturally in Proportion be more refined. Thus *Greece* in general grew more and more polite; and as it advanc'd in this Reſpect, was more averſe to the obſcene buffooning Manner. The *Athenians* ſtill went before the reſt, and led the Way in Elegance of every Kind. For even their firſt Comedy was a Refinement upon ſome irregular Attempts which had been made in that Drammatick Way. And the grand Critick ſhews us *, That in his own Time the *Phalica*, or ſcurrilous and obſcene Farce prevailed ſtill, and had the Countenance of the Magiſtrate in ſome Cities of *Greece*, who were behind the reſt in this Reform of *Taſte* and *Manners*. But what is yet a more undeniable Evidence of this natural and gradual Refinement of Styles and Manners among the Ancients, particularly in what concern'd their Stage, is, that this very Caſe of Prohibition and Reſtraint happen'd among the *Romans* themſelves; where no Effects of foreign Power or of a home Tyranny can be pretended. Their *Feſcennin* and *Atellan* way of Wit was in early Days prohibited, and *Laws* made againſt it, *for the Publick's Sake*; and in regard to the Welfare of the Community: Such Licentiouſneſs having been found in Reality contrary to the juſt Liberty of the People.

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* Lib. de Poet. cap. 4. *De Tragedia & Comedia.*

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——— doluere cruento
Dente laceſſiti : fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione ſuper communi. Quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam.
Deſcribi———

Hor. Ep. 1. Lib. 2.

In Defence of what I have here advanc'd, I could, beſides the Authority of grave Hiſtorians * and Chronologiſts, produce the Teſtimony of one of the wiſeſt and moſt ſerious of ancient Authors, whoſe ſingle Authority would be acknowledged to have equal Force with that of many concurring Writers. He ſhews us †, that this firſt form'd Comedy and Scheme of ludicrous Wit, was introduc'd upon the Neck of the Sublime. The familiar airy Muſe was priviledg'd as a ſort of Counter-pedagogue againſt the Pomp and Formality of the more ſolemn Writers. And what is highly remarkable, our Author ſhews us that in Philoſophy it ſelf there happened almoſt at the very ſame Time a like *Succeſſion* of Wit and Humour, when in Oppoſition to the ſublime Philoſopher, and afterwards to his grave Diſciple and Succeſſor in the Academy, there aroſe a comick Philoſophy, in the Perſon of another Maſter and other Diſciples; who perſonally, as well as in their Writings, were ſet in direct Oppoſition to the former ‡, not as differing in Opinions or Maxims, but in their Style and Manner; in the Turn of Humour and Method of Inſtruction.

What this noble Writer adds upon the Reſemblance between the Lineage of Philoſophy and that of Poetry, is

* *Strabo.* Lib. 1.
† Marcus Antoninus, Bib. *l.* 2.
‡ *Tunica diſtantia*———Juv. Sat. 13. v. 222.

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is exceeding curious, and ſhews a truly maſterly Taſte of both, as well as the moſt profound and accurate Acquaintance with ancient Hiſtory, of Letters and Arts in particular.

If we add to what hath been juſt now quoted but one Paſſage more from the ſame Author, we have from him almoſt a compleat Commentary on *Horace*'s Art of Poetry; and at the ſame Time upon what is moſt material in *Ariſtotle*'s Poeticks.

Deinque ſit quodvis ſimplex duntaxat & unum.
Hor. Art. Poet.*

'Tis an infallible Proof (ſaith our Author) of the want of juſt *Integrity* in every Writing, from the epopee or heroick Poem down to the familiar Epiſtle, or ſlighteſt Eſſay, either in Proſe or Verſe, if each ſeveral Part or Portion fits not its proper Place ſo exactly that the leaſt Tranſpoſition would be impracticable. Whatever is Epiſodick, tho' perhaps it be a Whole, and in it ſelf entire, yet being inſerted as a Part, in a Work of greater Length, it muſt appear only in its due Place. And that Place alone can be called its *due one*, which alone befits it. If there be any Paſſage in the Middle or End which might have ſtood in the Beginning; or any in the Beginning which might have ſtood as well in the Middle or End, there is properly in ſuch a Piece neither Beginnng, Middle nor End. It is a mere Rhapſody not a Work. And the more it aſſumes the Air or Appearance

* See *Ariſtotle*'s Poeticks, *cap.* 7. A Whole is that which hath a Beginning, Middle, and End, &c.

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Appearance of a *real Work*, the more ridiculous it becomes.

The τὸ εὐσύνοπτον as the great Maſter of Arts calls it in his Poeticks, (*cap.* 23.) but particularly (*cap.* 7.) where he ſhews that the τὸ καλὸν the Beautiful or the Sublime in theſe above mentioned Arts, is from the Expreſſion of *Greatneſs* with *Order*: that is to ſay, exhibiting the Principal or Main of what is deſign'd, in the very largeſt Proportions in which it is capable of being view'd. For when it is gigantick, 'tis in a Manner out of Sight, and can be no Way comprehended in that ſimple and united View. As, on the contrary, when a Piece is of the Miniature Kind; when it runs into the Detail and nice Delineation of every little Particular; 'tis, as it were, inviſible, for the ſame Reaſon; becauſe the *ſummary Beauty*, the *Whole* it ſelf cannot be comprehended in that *one united View*, which is broken and loſt by the neceſſary Attraction of the Eye to every ſmall and ſubordinate Part. In a poetick Syſtem, the ſame Regard muſt be had to the Memory, as in Painting to the Eye. The dramatick is confin'd within the convenient and proper Time of a Spectacle. The Epick is left more at large. Each Work however, muſt aim at *Vaſtneſs* and be as great and of as long Duration as poſſible; but ſo as to be comprehended (as to the Main of it) by one eaſy Glance or Retroſpect of Memory. And this the Philoſopher calls, accordingly τὸ Εὐμνημόνευτον.

Reſpicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatorem, & Veras *hinc ducere* Voces.
Hor. de Arte Poet.

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The chief of ancient Criticks, we know, extols *Homer* above all Things, for underſtanding how *to Lye in Perfection. (de Poet. cap.* 24.) His Lyes according to that Maſter's Opinion and the Judgment of many of the graveſt and moſt venerable Writers, were, in themſelves, the juſteſt *moral Truths*, and exhibitive of the beſt Doctrine and Inſtruction in Life and Manners. It may be ask'd, perhaps, " How comes the Poet, then, to draw " no ſingle Pattern of the Kind, no *perfect Character* in " either of his heroick Pieces." I anſwer, that ſhould he attempt to do it, he would as a oet be prepoſterous and falſe. 'Tis not the poſſible, but the probable and likely which muſt be the Poet's Guide in Manners. By this he wins Attention and moves the conſcious Reader or Spectator, who judges beſt from within, by what he naturally feels and experiences in his own Heart. The Perfection of Virtue is from long Art and *Management Self-controul*, and, as it were, force on Nature. But the common Auditor or Spectator who ſeeks Pleaſure only, and loves to engage his Paſſion, by view of other Paſſion and Emotion, comprehends little of the Reſtraints, Allays, and Corrections which form this new and artificial Creature. For ſuch indeed is the truly virtuous Man; whoſe Art, tho' ever ſo natural in it ſelf, or juſtly founded in Reaſon and Nature, is an Improvement far beyond the common Stamp or known Character of Human Kind. And thus the compleatly virtuous and perfect Character is *unpoetical* and *falſe*. Effects muſt not appear, where Cauſes muſt neceſſarily remain unknown and incomprehenſible. A Hero without Paſſion is in Poetry, as abſurd as a Hero without Life or Action.

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Now if Paſſion be allow'd, paſſionate Action muſt enſue. The ſame heroick Genius and ſeeming Magnanimity, which tranſport us when beheld, are naturally tranſporting in the Lives and Manners of the Great, who are deſcrib'd to us. And thus the able Deſigner, who feigns in Behalf of Truth, and draws his Characters after the moral Rule, fails not to diſcover Nature's Propenſity; and aſſigns to theſe high Spirits their proper Exorbitancy and Inclination to exceed in that Tone or Species of Paſſion which conſtitutes the eminent or ſhining Part of each poetical Character. The Paſſion of an *Achilles* is toward that Glory which is acquired by Arms and perſonal Valour. In Favour of this Character we forgive the generous Youth his Exceſs of Ardor in the Field, and his Reſentment when injured and provoked in Council, and by his Allies, The Paſſion of an *Ulyſſes* is towards that Glory which is acquired by Prudence, Wiſdom and Ability in Affairs. It is in Favour of this Character that we forgive him his ſubtle, crafty and deceitful Air; ſince the intriguing Spirit, the over-reaching Manner, and over Refinement of Art and Policy are as naturally incident to the experienced and thorow Politician as ſudden Reſentment, indiſcreet and raſh Behaviour to the open undeſigning Character of a warlike Youth. The gigantick Force and military Toil of an *Ajax* would not be ſo eaſily credible or engaging, but for the honeſt Simplicity of his Nature, and the Heavineſs of his Parts and Genius. For Strength of Body being ſo often noted by us, as un-attended with equal Parts and Strength of Mind; when we ſee this natural Effect expreſſed, and our ſecret and malicious Kind of Reaſoning confirm'd,

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on this Hand; we yield to any Hyperbole of our Poet on the other. He has afterwards his full Scope and Liberty of enlarging and exceeding in the peculiar Virtue and Excellence of his Hero. He may lye ſplendidly, raiſe Wonder, and be as aſtoniſhing as he pleaſes. Every thing will be allow'd him in Return for this frank Allowance. Thus the Tongue of a *Neſtor* may work Prodigies, whilſt the accompanying Allays of a Rhetorical Fluency and aged Experience are kept in View. An *Agamemnon* may be admired as a noble and wiſe Chief, whilſt a certain princely Haughtineſs, a Stiffneſs, and ſtately Carriage natural to the Character, are repreſented in his Perſon, and noted in their Effects. For thus the Exceſſes of every Character are by the Poet redreſſed, and the Misfortunes naturally attending ſuch Exceſſes being juſtly apply'd; our Paſſions whilſt in the ſtrongeſt Manner engaged and mov'd, are in the wholeſomeſt and moſt effectual Manner corrected and purg'd. Were a Man to form himſelf by one ſingle Pattern or Original, however perfect; he would himſelf be a mere Copy. But whilſt he draws from various Models, he is original, natural and unaffected. We ſee in outward Carriage and Behaviour how ridiculous any one becomes who imitates another be he ever ſo graceful. They are mean Spirits who love to copy merely. Nothing is agreeable or natural, but what is original. Our Manners, like our Faces, tho' ever ſo beautiful muſt differ in their Beauty. An over Regularity is next to Deformity; and in a Poem whether Epick or Dramatick, a compleat and perfect Character is the greateſt Monſter; and of all poetical Fictions, not only the leaſt engaging, but the leaſt

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leaſt moral and improving.——Thus much by Way of Remark upon poetical Truth, and the juſt Fiction or artful Lying of the able Poet, according to the Judgment of the Maſter Critick. What *Horace* expreſſes of the ſame Lyng Virtue, is of an eaſier Senſe, and needs no Explanation.

Atque ita mentitur, ſic ve[illegible]falſis remiſcet
Primo ne medium, medio ne diſcrepet imum.
Hor. de Arte Poet.

The ſame may be obſerved not only in heroick Draughts, but in the inferior Characters of Comedy.

Quam ſimilis uterque eſt ſui!
Ter. Phorm. Act 3, Sc. 2.

To this we may add another Remark of our noble Author's. Speaking of the Slavery which Vice introduces into the Mind, and the Liberty reſulting from the Government of Reaſon well eſtabliſhed, he obſerves, "The "Poets, even of the wanton ſort, give ample Teſtimony of "this Slavery and Wretchedneſs of Vice." They may extol Voluptuouſneſs to the Skies, and point their Wit as ſharply as they are able againſt a virtuous State. But when they come afterwards to pay the neceſſary Tribute to their commanding Pleaſures; we hear their pathetick Moans, and find the inward Diſcord and Calamity of their Lives: Their Example is the beſt of Precepts; ſince they conceal nothing, are ſincere, and ſpeak their Paſſion out aloud. And it is in this that the very worſt of Poets may juſtly

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ſy be preferred to the Generality of modern Philoſophers, or other formal Writers of a yet more ſpecious Name. The Muſes Pupils never fail to expreſs their Paſſions, and write juſt as they feel. It is not indeed in their nature, to do otherwiſe; whilſt they indulge their Vein, and are under the Power of that natural Enthuſiaſm which leads 'em to what is higheſt in their Performance. They follow Nature; they move chiefly as ſhe moves in them, without thought of diſguiſing her free Motions, and genuine Operations, for the ſake of any Scheme or Hypotheſis, which they have form'd at leiſure, and in particular narrow Views. On this account tho' they quarrel perhaps with Virtue, for reſtraining them in their forbidden Loves, they can at another time make her ſufficient amends; when with Indignation they complain that Merit is neglected, and their worthleſs Rivals preferr'd before them.

Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Pauperis ingenium?

HOR. *Epod.* XI. *v.* 16.

And thus even in common Elegiack, in Song, Ode, or Epigram, conſecrated to Pleaſure it ſelf, we may often read the dolorous Confeſſion, in behalf of Virtue, and ſee at the bottom, how the Caſe ſtands.

Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur.

The

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The airy Poets, in theſe Fits, can asfreely as the Tragedian, condole with Virtue, and bemoan the Caſe of ſuffering Merit:

The Oppreſſor's Wrong, the proud Man's Contumely,
The Inſolence of Office, and the Spurns
That patient Merit of th' Unworthy takes.

I ſhall only ſubjoin two more Remarks from the ſame excellent Writer; one upon the Teſt of Wit and of Gravity, and the other upon the *Senſus communis* in *Horace* and *Juvenal*.

Gravity is of the very Eſſence of Impoſture. It does not only make us miſtake other things, but is apt perpetually to miſtake it ſelf. For, in common Behaviour, how hard is it for the grave Character to keep long out of the formal one? We can never be too grave, if we can be aſſured we are really what we ſuppoſe. And we can never too much honour or revere any thing for grave; if we are aſſur'd the thing is grave, as we apprehend it. The main Point is to know always *true Gravity* from the *falſe*: and this can only be, by carrying the Rule conſtantly with us, and freely applying it not only to the things about us, but to our ſelves. For if unhappily we loſe the Meaſure in our ſelves, we ſhall ſoon loſe it in every thing beſides. Now what Rule or Meaſure is there in the World, except in the conſidering of the real Temper of things, to find which are truly ſerious and which ridiculous? And how can this be done, unleſs by applying the Ridicule, to ſee whether it will bear? But if we fear to apply this Rule in any thing, what Security can we

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we have againſt the Impoſture of Formality in all things? We have allow'd our ſelves to be *Formaliſts* in one Point, and the ſame Formality may rule us as it pleaſes in all other.

'Tis not in every Diſpoſition that we are capacitated to judge of things. We muſt before-hand judge of our own Temper, and accordingly of other things which fall under our Judgment. But we muſt never more pretend to judge of things, or of our own Temper in judging them, when we have given up our preliminary Right of judging, and under a Preſumption of Gravity, have allow'd our ſelves to be moſt ridiculous, and to admire profoundly the moſt ridiculous things in Nature, at leaſt for ought we know. For having reſolved never to try, we can never be ſure.

——Ridiculum acri
Fortius & melius magnas plerumque ſecat res.
HOR. Lib. I. Sat. 10. v. 14.

Grimace and Tone are mighty Helps to Impoſture; and many a formal Piece of Sophiſtry holds proof under a ſevere Brow which would not paſs under an eaſy one. * 'Twas the

* *Gorgias Leontinus apud Ariſt. Rhetor. L. 3. cap.* 18. Τὸν μὲν σπουδὴν διαφθείρειν γελωτι, τὸν δὲ γελοῖα σπουδῇ. Which the Tranſlator renders, *Seria riſu, Riſum ſeriis diſcutere.* I cannot but remark, that thoſe who object againſt this noble Author, on account of what he ſays of Ridicule, in Explication of this ancient Maxim, which *Horace* probably had in his view, repreſent him as pleading only for the Application of Ridicule to Gravity, whereas he does not divide or take away one half of the Teſt of Truth recommended by the ancient Sage; but preſerves it entire, and equally recommends the ſevere Trial of Wit by Gravity, that is by Reaſon and Judgment, that we may not be impoſed upon by falſe Appearances of Wit and Pleaſantry. And let me add, that thoſe who will not allow Ridicule to be univerſally a good Teſt, have no Right to apply it in any Caſe. It may be applied every where or no where.

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the Saying of an ancient Sage, that Humour was the only Teſt of Gravity; and Gravity, of Humour. For a Subject, which would not bear Raillery, was ſuſpicious; and a Jeſt, which would not bear a ſerious Examination, was certainly falſe Wit.

His Lordſhip's Remark upon the true Meaning of *Senſus Communis*, in *Juvenal* and *Horace*, is very curious and juſt. The *Roman* Satiriſt, ſays he, may be thought more than ordinarily ſatirical, when, ſpeaking of the Nobility and Court, he is ſo far from allowing them to be the Standard of Politeneſs and good Senſe, that he makes them in a manner the Reverſe:

> *Rarus enim ferme* Senſus Communis *in illa Fortuna*——
>
> Juv. Sat. VIII. v. 73.

Some of the moſt ingenious Commentators, however, interpret this very differently from what is generally apprehended. They make this *Common Senſe* of the Poet, by a *Greek* Derivation, to ſignify *Senſe* of publick Weal, and of the common Intereſt. Love of the Community or Society, natural Affection, Humanity, Obligingneſs, or that Sort of Civility, which riſes from a juſt Senſe of the *Common Rights* of Mankind, and the *Natural Equality* there is among thoſe of the ſame Species.

And indeed, if we conſider the Thing nicely, it muſt ſeem ſomewhat hard in the Poet, to have denied Wit or Ability to a Court, ſuch as that of *Rome*, even under a *Tiberius* or a *Nero*. But for Humanity, or Senſe of

 publick

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publick Good, and the common Interest of Mankind, 'twas no such deep Satire to question, whether this was properly the *Spirit of a Court*. 'Twas difficult to apprehend what Community subsisted among Courtiers; or what publick Good between an absolute Prince and his Slave-Subjects. And for real Society, there could be none, between such as had no other Sense than that of private Good.

Our Poet therefore seems not so immoderate in his Censure; if we consider it is the *Heart*, rather than the *Head*, he takes to task: When reflecting on a Court-Education, he thinks it unapt to raise any Affection towards a *Country*; and looks upon young Princes and Lords, as the *Young Masters* of the World; who being indulg'd in all their Passions, and train'd up in all Manner of Licentiousness, have that thorow Contempt, and Disregard of Mankind, which Mankind in a Manner deserves, where arbitrary Power is permitted, and a Tyrant ador'd.

Haec satis ad Juvenem quem nobis fama superbum
Tradit, & inflatum, plenumque Neronis propinqui.
Juv. Sat. v. 71.

A publick Spirit can come only from a social Feeling, or Sense of Partnership with human Kind. Now there are none so far from being Partners in this Sense, or Sharers of this common Affection, as they who scarcely know an Equal, nor consider themselves as subject to any Law of Fellowship or Community. And thus Morality and

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and good Government go together. There is no real Love of Virtue, without the Knowledge of *publick Good*. And where abſolute Power is, there is no publick.

The two *Caſaubons*, *Iſ.* and *Mer. Salmaſius*, and our *Engliſh Gataker*, ſo underſtand the *Senſus Communis*: See the firſt in *Capitolinus*, *Vit. M. Ant. ſub finem*: The ſecond, in his Comment on *Mar. Anton. Lib.* 1. *Sect.* 13. and 16. *Gataker* on the ſame Place, and *Salmaſius* in the ſame Life of *Capitolinus*, at the End of his Annotations. The *Greek* Word is κοινονομοσύνη, which *Salmaſius* interprets *Moderatam, uſitatam, ordinariam et hominis mentem quae in commune quodammodo conſulit, nec omnia ad commodum ſuum refert, reſpectumque etiam habet eorum cum quibus verſatur modeſte, modiceque de ſe ſentiens. At contra inflati & ſuperbi omnes ſe ſibi tantum ſuiſque commodis natos arbitrantur, & prae ſe caeteros contemnunt & negligunt: Et hi ſunt qui* Senſum Communem *non habere recte dici poſſunt.*

Nam ita Senſum Communem *accipit* Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.

Rarus enim ferme Senſus Communis.

Et φιλανθρωπίαν & χρηστότητα, Galenus *vocat, quam Marcus de ſe loquens*; κοινονομοσυνην; *et alibi, ubi de eadem re loquitur,* Μετριότητα καὶ Εὐγνωμοσύνην, *qua gratiam illi fecerit Marcus ſimul eundi ad Germanicum bellum ac ſequendi ſe.*

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In the same Manner *Isaac Casaubon*: *Herodianus* (says he) calls this the τὸ μέτριον καὶ ἰσόμετρον, "*Subjicit vero Antoninus, quasi hanc vocem interpretans,* καὶ τὸ ἐφείσθαι τοῖς φίλοις μήτε συνδειπνεῖν αὐτῷ παντως, μήτε συναποδημεῖν επαναγκες." This, I am persuaded, is the *Sensus Communis* of *Horace*.

Communi Sensu plane caret, inquimus.

Sat. L. I. Sat. iii. *v.* 66. †

Which has been unobserved (as far as I can learn) by any of his Commentators: It being remarkable withall, that in this early Satire of *Horace*, before his latter Days, and when his Philosophy as yet inclin'd to the less rigid Assertors of Virtue, he puts this Expression, (as may be seen by the whole Satire taken together) into the Mouth of a *Crispinus*, or some ridiculous Mimick of that severe Philosophy, to which the Coinage of the Word κοινονομοσύνη properly belong'd. For so the Poet a-again uses the Word *Sensus*.

——*haud illud quaerentes, num sine* Sensu

Tempore num faciant alieno.——

Hor. Sat. L. I. Sat. iv. v. 77.

ἀναισθητως, as old *Lambin* interprets it.

And

† So in the same Satire, v. 97.

——Sensus *moresque repugnant.*

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J. Mynde sc.

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And *Cicero*, accordingly.

Juſtitiae partes ſunt, non violare homines: verecundiae non offendere.

Lib. I. de Off.

It may be objected poſſibly, by ſome particularly verſed in the Philoſophy above-mentioned, that the Κοινὸς νοῦς to which the Κοινονομοσύνη ſeems to have Relation, is of a different Meaning. But they will conſider withal, how ſmall the Diſtinction was in that Philoſophy, between the ὑπόληψις and the vulgar αἴσθησις; how generally Paſſion was by thoſe Philoſophers brought under the Head of *Opinion*. And when they conſider, beſides the very Formation of the Word Κοινονομοσύνη upon the Model of the other femaliz'd Virtues the Εὐγνωμοσύνη, Σωφροσύνη, Δικαιοσύνη, &c. they will no longer heſitate on this Interpretation.— The Reader may perhaps, by this Note, better ſee why the Latin Title of *Senſus Communis* has been given to this Treatiſe.

He may obſerve withal, how the ſame Poet *Juvenal* uſes the Word *Senſus*, in Sat. xv.

Haec noſtri pars optima Senſus.

I could not chooſe but add to his Lordſhip's Character of *Horace*, theſe few critical Obſervations he has made on different Paſſages in the Writings of *Horace*, becauſe they ſerve at once to give us an Idea of the Skill in ancient Philoſophy and Hiſtory, and the good Senſe requiſite to Reading *Horace* with Judgment and Taſte; and of

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of true and uſeful Criticiſm; or of the wide Difference there is between verbal Criticiſm, and that which is truly philoſophical, leading to profitable Reflections *on Men and Things ſo much neglected in Education.*

The Print prefix'd to theſe Reflections on the Characters of *Auguſtus*, *Agrippa*, *Maecenas* and *Horace*, repreſenting thoſe great Perſonages, is taken from a very curious ancient Pictiure, now in *Richard Mead*'s (M.D) elegant Collection of Antiquities *. One Figure at leaſt hath been broken off, in digging it out of the Ruins in the *Palatine Mount* at *Rome*, where it had been long buried, and was but very lately diſcovered: But it very probably repreſents that celebrated Bounty of *Auguſtus*, in reſtoring the Crown to *Phraates*.

——*Jus imperiumque Phraates*
Caeſaris accepit genibus minor.——
Hor. Ep. Lib. I. Ep. 12.

The ſame *Phraates* ‡, of whom *Horace* ſpeaks, Od Lib. II. Od 2.

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* See *Lambinus*'s Comment.

‡ There is no ſuch Collection of ancient Paintings on this Side the *Alps*; nay, no where, that of the King of *Naples* and *Sicily* alone excepted, ſince ſome have been lately found in digging among ancient Ruins near *Naples*. The Doctor is likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of all the ancient Paintings which formerly

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Redditum Cyri ſolio Phraatem
Diſſidens plebi, numero beatorum
Eximit virtus. ———

merly belonged to the *Maſſimi* Family at *Rome*; ſome of them are publiſhed in my Treatiſe of ancient Painting.

The Doctor hath likewiſe the famous Book of Drawings, coloured by the elder *Bartoli*, after ancient Paintings diſcover'd in his Time, which are now almoſt all loſt, done for the Cardinal *Maſſimi*. And the Figures in the *Vatican Virgil*, copied for the ſame Cardinal, by the ſame excellent Hand.

THE

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THE

Gallery of *VERRES*:

In a DISCOURSE to

The Academy of *Inſcriptions* and *Belles-Lettres* at *Paris*.

By the Abbe FRAGUIER.

Paris, May 13. 1718.

ROME, for a long Time, had no Notion or Taſte of the polite, ingenious Arts. The *Romans* did not know the Value of them, till *Marcellus*, *Scipio*, *Flaminius*, *Paulus Emilius*, and *Mummius* expoſed to their View the nobleſt Works of Art, with which *Syracuſe*, *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia*, and *Boeotia* were adorned ‡. The beautiful Statues and Sculptures in Braſs and Marble, which had been the Ornaments of Temples and publick Places in thoſe conquered Countries, were beheld by the *Romans* with high Admiration.

The

‡ See *Plin. L.35.Sect.* 53. and *Cicero* in *Verrem*. L. 1. No. 23. Urbem totam, templa Deorum, omneſque Italiæ partes illorum donis ac monumentis exornatas videmus, *&c.*——

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The pleasing Objects which *Grecian* Luxury and Magnificence had produced, quickly inflamed the *Romans* with an ardent Love of the same Luxury and Splendor. They soon began to vie with one another in embellishing their Country and Town Houses with such exquisite Decorations. They stuck at nothing for that Effect. The most innocent Method they took was to purchase at a low Rate Things truly above all Price. The Governments of Provinces furnished Occasion to make large Acquisitions of this sort. 'Tis true *, that while *Roman* Manners were yet uncorrupted, it was not permitted to Governours, so much as to buy from the People under their Command: But when Corruption began to spread, and ancient Virtue to decline, the conquered Nations would have been very happy, if the Regulations of the Republick about plundering them, had only been violated in that one Instance. Their Masters would thus have set some Bounds to their Rapaciousness, or have kept some Measure in satisfying it. Some carried off all they could seize, and never thought of paying any Price. Others affecting more Moderation, borrowed under some specious Pretence from Cities and private Persons, whatever they possessed that was precious to them or valuable; but few or none ever restored what they had thus got into their Hands.

Verres, who was accused and convicted of Extortion and Rapine, said he had neither borrow'd †, nor taken

any

* *Cicero in Verrem* 4. N. 5. Quæ fuit causa, cur tam diligenter nos in provinciis ab emptoribus removerunt? Hæc, judices, quod putabant *Ereptionem* esse, *non Emptionem*, &c.

† *Cicero ibidem*, Et *pro domo sua*. Emi, inquit, O Dii immortales —— Mercatorem cum imperio & fecuribus. —— &c.

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any Thing by Force; but that he had paid very high Prices for every thing he was poſſeſſed of. And what was he not Maſter of? Taſtes are generally divided.

Hunc capit argenti ſplendor, ſtupet Albius aere.
HOR. *l.* 1. Sat. IV.

But *Verres* had ſnatch'd every Thing he could lay Hands upon, Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Pearls, Statues, Pictures, fine moveables of every Kind; nothing could be more magnificent than his Houſe *. His Courts and Gardens were filled with Statues and other Curioſities. But it is probable the beſt were plac'd in his renowned Gallery †.

It is with ſome Account of it I am at preſent to entertain the Academy. It far ſurpaſſed any of thoſe which we read Deſcriptions of every Day with Pleaſure. Let us leave *Cicero* to diſtinguiſh his Youth by a flaming Accuſation; let us leave him to maintain againſt *Hortenſius*, that *Verres* was a publick Robber: And let us amuſe our ſelves with a Review ſo well becoming our Studies, as that of a Gallery richly furniſh'd with Statues, Baſ-reliefs, Pictures and other curious Antiquities.

Now, 'tis juſt, that we ſhould begin with *Jupiter*. And a Statue of this God was one of the greateſt Ornaments in the ſumptuous Gallery of *Verres*. It repreſented *Jupiter-Ourios* the Diſpenſer of favourable Winds. There were but three Statues of this *Jupiter* in the World. One in the Capitol, where *Quintus Flaminius* had conſecrated

* Cicero in Verrem, No. 26.

† Pinacotheca, Vitruv. Plin. See the *Plate in* the *Vitruvius* of Mr. *Perrault*, p. 206.

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crated it with the other Spoils of *Macedonia*: One in an ancient Temple on the narrowest Point of the *Thracian Bosphorus*: The third was brought to *Rome* from *Syracuse* by *Verres*, and placed in his Gallery *. To this *Jupiter* whom the *Greeks* called *Ourios*, the *Romans*, without any Regard to that Surname, gave the Title of *Imperator*. 'Tis likely that *Flaminius* had consecrated this precious Fruit of his Victory under that Name, to give the Honour of his Success in *Macedonia* to the Protection of the Gods.

The *Diana* of *Segesta* ‡ was no less remarkable. It was of Brass, a noble, majestick Statue. The Goddess was veil'd after the Manner of the Divinities of the first Order.

Pedes vestis defluxit ad imos.

Æn. *l.* 1. *v.* 409.

Her Robe flow'd to her Feet; and tho' this Statue was bigger than Life, and cloath'd with a most venerable Drapery; yet it had quite the Air; all the graceful Ease and Agility of a youthful Virgin. Her Arrows hung upon her Shoulder, and she held a Bow in her right Hand, and in her Left a burning Torch. The Ancients

 loaded

* Quid ex Æde Jovis religiossimum simulacrum Jovis Imperatoris quem Graeci [illegible] nominant, pulcherrime factum. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum Jovis Imperatoris signa, &c. *Cic. in Verr.* 4. No. 58.

The Inscription of this Statue is in Dr. *Mead*'s Collection of Antiquities. It is published by *Ed. Chishull*, in his *Inscriptiones Asiaticae*.

‡ Singulari opere artificioque perfectum.——Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola. Verumtamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus Virginalis, &c. *In Verr.* 4. No. 33, 34.

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loaded their Gods with Symbols, to expreſs their different Attributes; but in ſo doing, they had not always ſufficient regard to Truth and Conſiſtency in the Whole. *Petrarch* has ſhewn more Reſpect to Probability. He never gives a Flambeau to *Cupid*: And of what Uſe indeed can a Bow and Arrows be, when the Hands are otherwiſe employ'd. This Statue had belonged from the moſt anient Times to *Segeſta*, a Town in *Sicily* founded by *Æneas*: And it was not only one of the nobleſt Ornaments of that City, but likewiſe the Object of its ſolemneſt Devotions. The *Carthaginians* had kidnapp'd it. But *Scipio* † ſome Ages after, when he conquered *Carthage* reſtored it to the *Segeſtans*, who immediately replac'd it on its ancient Pedeſtal, with a new Inſcription in capital Characters, expreſſing the Piety and Generoſity of *Scipio*. This *Diana* ſo much the more deſerves our Attention, that no ſuch Image is to be found on the Medals of *Segeſta*.

Two Statues of *Ceres* were the two moſt valuable Rarities *Verres* could find in ranſacking *Sicily*, where he commanded for three Years. One of them came from *Catina*, the other from *Enna*, two Cities which ſtamped the Head of *Ceres* on their Coins. The former had been worſhipped for many Ages with great Adoration in a dark and Holy Place, into which no Man was allow'd to enter *. Virgins and Matrons were charged with performing there the myſterious Rites of this Goddeſs. That of *Enna* was held in yet greater Veneration. It was a middle-ſiz'd Braſs Figure of moſt extraordinary

* Cicero, ibidem.

† Cicero ibidem, No. 45. ——— Aditus enim in id ſacrarium non eſt viris. Sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici ſolent, &c.

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extraordinary Workmanship. The Goddeſs held a Torch in one Hand to repreſent thoſe ſhe had lighted at the Flames of Mount *Ætna*, when ſhe went in Queſt of her Daughter whom *Pluto* had raviſh'd. In the Year of *Rome* 662, when the Murder of *Tiberius Gracchus* had raiſed a great Combuſtion in the Republick, the *Sibylline* Oracles were found to order the appeaſing of *Ceres* ‡ (*Cererem placari oportere*). And Deputies were ſent from the College of Prieſts to *Enna*, to worſhip at the Feet of this Statue, who, 'tis ſaid, were ſtruck at the Sight of it with no leſs Awe and holy Reverence, than if the Goddeſs her ſelf had appear'd to them.

Mercury indeed was not out of his Place when he was ſet up in the Gallery of *Verres*. It was the ſame *Mercury* to which the *Tindaritans** offered an anniverſary Sacrifice by their religious Laws: A Statue of an immenſe Value. *Scipio* the Conqueror of *Africa* had generouſly ‡ reſtored to this People, this ſupreme Object of their Adoration, as the *Caduceus* on their Medals ſhew *Mercury* to have been.

Apollo was ſent back to the People of *Agrigentum* in the ſame bounteous Manner ‡. This Statue ſtood in their Temple of *Eſculapius*. It was *Myron*'s Maſter-piece, and to eternize his Memory he had engrav'd his Name on one of its Thighs in ſmall Characters; which was venturing to do what was then abſolutely prohibited, as we may learn from what *Cicero* ſays of *Phidias*. "*Phidias* finding, ſays he, that he "was not permitted to put his Name upon his celebrated "Shield

‡ Cicero in Verrem 4. No. 48, 49.
* Ibidem, No. 39.

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" Shield of *Minerva*, contrived to put his Pourtrait " in the Compoſition *. Now, I leave it to you, Gentlemen, to judge how much *Myron*'s Name being upon this Statute contrary to Law and Cuſtom, muſt have enhanced the Value of it to the Curious. There was a *Hercules* in this Gallery by the ſame famous Artiſt. *Verres* had taken it from *C. Heius* † at *Meſſina*, whoſe Houſhold Gods were the greateſt Rarities in that ſplendid richly adorned City. From hence likewiſe came his *Cupid* by *Praxitles*, Fellow to that celebrated one which ſo many travelled to *Theſpiæ* on purpoſe to ſee. This one which *Verres* brought to *Rome* had been there before ‡. *Pliny* ranks it among the beſt Works of the renowned *Praxiteles* ||.

By theſe Deities were placed *Canephoræ*, which bore ſo great a Part in the Pomp of certain ancient Feſtivals *. At *Athens* young Girls richly array'd, who march'd in the ſolemn Proceſſions, carrying Baskets upon their Heads filled with Preſents devoted to the Gods were called *Canephoræ*. Such were theſe Figures: and their Beau-

* Quid enim Phidias ſui ſimilem ſpeciem incluſit in clypeo Minervæ, cum inſcribere non liceret. *Cicero. Tuſ. qu.* l. 1. N. 15.

† ———omnibus in rebus ornatiſſimus. Ea domus ante adventum illius *ſic ornata fuit, ut urbi quoque eſſet ornamento.*

———in quo ſigna quatuour pulcherrima, ſummo artificio, ſumma nobilitate.—Ex altera parae *Hercules* egregie factus, &c. *In Verr.* 4. N. 2.

‡ *Cicero ibidem.*———Propter quem *Theſpiæ* viſuntur. Nam alia viſendi cauſa nulla eſt.

|| Plin. *l.* 36.

* Dico ſigna eximia venuſtate, virginali habitu atque veſtitu, *&c.* *Cicero. in Verrem* 4. No. 3. where ſpeaking of that Houſe he ſays, *Omnibus hæc ad viſendum patebant quotidie: Domus erat non domino magis ornamento quam civitati.* This is a Circumſtance *Cicero* never forgets. He mentions it on many Occaſions, and as frequently reproaches the oppoſite Method.

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Beauty fully anſwered to the high Reputation of *Polycletus* whoſe Workmanſhip they were.

Let us now caſt our Eyes upon the *Ariſteus*, the *Peon* and the *Tenes*. The *Ariſteus* was brought from *Syracuſe* †, where he was worſhipped in the ſame Temple with *Bacchus*. He was a Demi-god, Son to *Apollo* by the Nymph *Cyrene*. His Statue was in the Form of a young Shepherd, his Employments having been wholly Ruſtick, ſuch as tending Flocks, taking care of Bees and dreſſing Olives. He taught Men the Uſe of Milk, Honey and Oil: And after the Trouble *Pindar* had taken to ſing his Birth and Education, his glorious Inventions and Actions, 'tis no wonder that the beſt Artiſts ſhould have exerted themſelves to make fine Statues of him. The Poets have often inſpir'd the Painters and Sculptors with beautiful Ideas and noble Emulation.

The *Peon* or *Pean* came from the ſame City, but from a Temple dedicated to *Eſculapius*, with whom he there ſhared Divine Honours ‡. He was Phyſician to the Gods, and the happieſt of all Phyſicians. This auſtere Figure made an admirable Contraſt to that of *Ariſteus*, whom we may imagine to have been like an *Antinous*; or, if you pleaſe, *Raphael*'s St. *John* ‖. As for *Tenes* it came from a greater Diſtance. *Varres* had

† Ibidem, No. 58. *Cicero* calls him here *Liberi Filius*. But, de Natura Deorum, l. 3. No. 18. he calls him, *Apollinis Filius*. Anacreon mentions him. *Pindar* likewiſe Pyth. Od. 9. Virgil frequently. See G. l. 4. v. 317. *Paſtor Ariſtaeus fugiens, &c.*

‖ There is a great Reſemblance between the Antique *Antinous*'s and *Raphael*'s *St. John*'s.

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had laid hands on it at *Tenedos*. † This Statue had formerly made a Journey to *Rome*, and was there placed in the *Comitia*, but it had been restored to that City, for the Founder of which *Tenes* paſſed, and where he was worſhipped as their Tutelar God. 'Tis indeed a very lucky thing to get a whole People on one's Side. For this *Tenes* was in reality a vile Scelerate, who having render'd himſelf infamous in his own Country, by his criminal Commerce with his Step-mother, fled into this Deſert-Iſland, and got a Name to himſelf and to the Iſland, by building a City in it, which became very opulent.

Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos, notiſſima fama,
Inſula dives, opum.

AEn. l. 2. v. 21.

Some Antiquaries flatter themſelves to have found the Head of this *Tenes* upon a Medal of *Tenedos*, join'd to that of his Step-mother or Siſter.

But if this Head on the Coins of *Tenedos* be doubtful; that of *Sappho* on thoſe of *Mitylene* her Country is not. For ſingular Merit as a Poeteſs had render'd her a ſort of Goddeſs. And amongſt the Divinities of every kind which adorned the Gallery of *Verres*, none was more admired than a Braſs Statue of *Sappho*. by the celebrated Statuary *Silanion*. Nothing could be more perfect. *Verres* had robb'd the *Prytaneum* at *Syracuſe* of this wonderful Piece ‖.

Pliny

† Cicero in Verr. 4. No. 19.

‖ Silanionis opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum, ——*&c.* No. 57.

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Pliny tells us, that *Silanion* * had caſt in Braſs a Statue of his Fellow-Artiſt *Appollodorus*, who was a cholerick Man, and often broke his Works into pieces in a Fit of Ill-Humour and Paſſion, which repreſented his violent haſty Temper to ſuch Perfection, that it was a true and lively Picture of Anger it ſelf, as it were in Perſon. And if we may judge of his *Sappho* from the Account given of his Excellence in expreſſing Characters, it muſt have been the very Image of Poetry; and not an amorous Lady, but rather Amorouſneſs in Perſon. An Epigram in the *Anthologia* upon a Portrait of *Sappho*, aſcribes to her all the Nobleneſs of the Muſes, mingled with the ſoft Charms of *Venus* †.

Theſe were the principal Statues which *Cicero* found in the Gallery of *Verres*, when he went in Quality of his Accuſer to ſeize his Papers. But *Verres* was poſſeſs'd of a great many more, *Scio*, *Samos*, *Aſpendum*, *Perga*, *Sicily*; the whole World was pillaged by him. *Cicero* ſays his inſatiable Avarice coſt *Syracuſe* more Gods ‡, than the Victory of *Marcellus* Men. *Verres* had depoſited ſeveral Statues with his Friends, and he had made Preſents to his Protectors to a great Value. Witneſs the *Sphinx* he gave to *Hortenſius*, which became ſo famous by a ſmart Repartee of *Cicero* ||. The *Sphinx* is a well-known Figure; and this one was of *Corinthian* Braſs. *Hortenſius*

* *Pliny*, *L.* 34. *c.* 8. Silanion Apollodorum fecit: nec hominem ex *ære fecit*, *ſed Iracundiam*. Silanion ex ære fabricavit Sappho Scortum. Tatianus in orat. adverſus Graecos. *See* Junius de pictura veterum.

† Antholog. Graeca. *L.* 4. 507.

‡ ——conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello; hujus praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria: hujus libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui conſtitutas accepit, captas dicetis Syracuſas. *Cic. in Ver.* 4. No. 52.

‖ *Plin.* 34. *Quintil. L.* 6. *Plutarch* in his Life of *Cicero*.

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ſus was ſo fond of it that it was carried along with him where-ever he went. He could not want it one Moment out of his Sight; and hence we may judge of it's ſingular Beauty. *Pliny*, who relates this Fact, adds, that *Cicero* and *Hortenſius* becoming very warm in the Trial of *Verres*, the latter happen'd to ſay, *For my Part I have not learned to explain Riddles.* To which *Cicero* reply'd, *But you ought, ſince you have the* Sphinx *always with you.* I don't know how *Plutarch* comes to ſay this Sphinx was of Ivory, in direct Contradiction to the Teſtimonies of *Pliny* and *Quintilian*, who tells us it was of *Corinthian* Braſs.

But the rareſt Piece in this Collection, for it was Unick, and *Verres* only ſhew'd it to particular Favourites, was a Statue of a Player on the Lyre, whoſe Manner of touching his Inſtrument, gave Riſe to a *Greek* Proverb *. He ſeem'd to play to himſelf, and not to care whether others heard him or not: And therefore the *Greeks* us'd to ſay of thoſe who being entirely wrapp'd up in their dear ſelves, only minded their own private Intereſt, and gave themſelves no Trouble about others, *That they were like the Muſician of* Aſpendum, (*Citharista Aſpendius*) *Aſpendum* was an ancient and famous City in *Pamphilia*, where *Verres* made a plentiful Harveſt; but he found nothing there equal to this Statue, the Sight of which he engroſs'd to himſelf and a few Friends, carrying Selfiſhneſs even beyond the Muſician, ſaid *Cicero* †.

Let

* *Cicero in Verrem.* I. No. 20.

† *Cicero ibidem.* —— Intimis ſuis Ædibus poſuit; ut *etiam illum ipſum artificio ſuo ſuperaſſe videtur.*

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Let us now take a View of ſome other Curioſities in the Gallery of *Verres*, which were not the leaſt precious Part of this Treaſure. I put in this Rank ſeveral little Victories, ſuch as we ſee upon Medals in the Hands of the Divinities*. And among others there was a very fine one which *Verres* had taken out of the Hand of a capital Statue of *Ceres* at *Enna* †. There were ſome of Ivory. *Verres* got them in an ancient Temple of *Juno* upon the Promontory of *Malta*. It is probably the ſame *Juno* we ſee on the *Punick* Medals of that Iſland. The Uſe of Ivory in Sculpture is very ancient. *Homer* ſpeaks of it, tho' he makes no mention of Elephants ‡. Long afterwards *Phidias* made a famous Ivory Statue of *Minerva*, with that admirable Buckler deſcribed by *Pliny*. *Dionyſius* the Elder made no Scruple to ſteal ſuch little Victories of Gold which the Gods held in their Hands, and appeared to preſent to thoſe who came to ſee them, ſaying, *I do not take them, I only accept a Preſent* ||.

A large Vaſe adorned a ſplendid Citron Table. It was the Workmanſhip of *Boethus* a *Carthaginian* Artiſt, whoſe Fame is tranſmitted to us by *Pliny*, with a Catalogue of his Works.

He excelled in working on Silver, whence it is probable this Vaſe was of that Metal; and that it is ſtill

* In quibus Eburneae victoriae antiquo opere, ac ſumma arte perfectae. *ibidem.*

† No. 40. The Statue was too large to be carried off. ——*his pulcritudo periculo, amplitudo ſaluti fuit.*

‡ *The Spoils of Elephants the Roofs inlay,* Homer. Odyſſ. *l.* 4.
And ſtudded Amber darts a golden Ray. Pope, *v.* 86.

|| Eaque ſe acciperre non auferre dicebat. Eſſe enim ſtultitiam a quibus bona procurentur, ab iis porrigentibus et dantibus nolle ſumere. *Cic.* de nat. D. l. 3. n. 34.

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more likely, becauſe *Cicero* mentions the Weight of it *. But tho' this Vaſe was very fine, yet that juſt by it was much more ſo, being one precious Stone adorned with the moſt curious Workmanſhip. This Piece came from the Eaſt and fell into *Verres*'s Hands, with the rich Candleſtick we ſhall mention afterwards.

There was not a Houſe in *Sicily* of any Faſhion, or but tolerably furniſhed, which had not a Service of Silver Plate for the Worſhip of its Houſhold Goods, conſiſting of *Patera*'s of all Sorts, and Sizes, and other religious Utenſils for Offerings, Libations, and perfuming with Incenſe and other ſacred Rites †. And all theſe were more valuable for the Workmanſhip than for the Metal. They ſhew'd to what Height of Perfection the Arts of Deſign had been brought in *Sicily* ‡. *Verres* aſſiſted by two *Greeks* ‡, the one a Painter, the other a Statuary, who had put themſelves under his Protection, upon flying their Country for infamous Crimes, had choſen out of thoſe Treaſures whatever ſeemed fitteſt to enrich and adorn his Gallery. Oval Cups, with Figures emboſſed, or of curious inlaid Work, *Corinthian* Vaſes placed on Marble Tables, ſupported by three Feet in the Form of *Tripods*, and call'd on that Account *Menſæ Delphicæ*. If he did not like the Vaſes themſelves, he carried off the Handles, the little Statues, the enchaſed Pieces of carved Work with which they were ornamented, to ſerve for Decorations to richer and finer ones ‖.

One

* —— praeclaro opere & grandi pondere per poteſtatem abſtuliſſet. *In Ver.* 4. No. 27.

† *Ibidem.*——Haec autem omnia antiquo opere et ſummo artificio facta, ut hoc liceret ſuſpicari fuiſſe aliquando apud ſiculos peraequa proportione cetera.

‡ ——Canes venaticos diceres, *&c.* No. 13.

‖ *Ibidem.* No. 14, 18, 22.

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One of *Verres*'s Curioſity muſt have ſomething of every Kind. And accordingly, there were in this Gallery Coats of Mail, Helmets and Breaſt-plates of *Corinthian* Braſs, nicely carved. Large Urns of the ſame Metal, and no leſs curiouſly wrought, Elephant's Teeth of an incredible Size, upon which were Inſcriptions in *Punick* Characters, bearing that *Maſiniſſa* had ſent them back to the Temple of *Juno* at *Malta*, whence the Commander of his Fleet had carried them off *.

There was every thing in this Gallery, even to the very Trappings and Equipage of a Horſe that had belonged to King *Hieron*; near to which were upon two Pedeſtals two little Horſes of Silver †, highly eſteemed by the Curious.

The Antique hath a Merit independent of the Materials. Good Taſte in Workmanſhip and Antiquity make its principal Value. The golden Vaſes of which *Verres* had a great Quantity were modern, but he had made them as beautiful and eſtimable as moſt antique ones. For he had eſtabliſhed at *Syracuſe* ‡, in the ancient Palace of the Kings, a Laboratory with all its Utenſils, in which a great Number of excellent Artiſts for deſigning and ornamenting Vaſes, work'd for him eight Months, and that in Gold only.

The Excellence of thoſe Artiſts conſiſted in their elegant Taſte of Deſign, and in adjuſting antique Ornaments to modern Vaſes with ſuch Dexterity, that one would

* No. 44.

† *Ibidem.* No. 12, 20.

‡ —— ita ſcite in aureis poculis illigabat, ita apte in Scyphis aureis includebat, ut ea ad illam rem nata eſſe diceres,——ipſe tamen praetor in hac officina majorem partem diei cum tunica pulla ſedere ſolebat & pallio. No. 24.

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would have thought they had been originally made for them; ſo exquiſitely delicate was the Joining or Enchaſing.

The Tapeſteries ſtood out ſtiff with Gold: A Piece of Luxury that came from *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* †. And his other Moveables were nothing inferior to them in Riches. *Tyrian* Purple ſhone from every Corner. *Verres* all the time of his Government had kept Manufactories at Work in the beſt Towns in *Sicily* and *Malta*, to make the moſt magnificent Furniture for him that could be imagined. He furniſhed the Materials, the Workmanſhip coſt him nothing.

We cannot now find out who thoſe ſeven and twenty Kings or Tyrants of *Sicily* were, whoſe Portraits *Verres* ſtole from the Temple of *Minerva* ‖ in *Syracuſe*, and put up in his Gallery. Among other ancient Pictures of which he had robbed the ſame Temple ‡, there was one repreſenting a Cavalry-Battle of *Agathocles*, that Tyrant of *Sicily* who raiſed himſelf from a Citizen of the loweſt Rank, to the Sovereignty of his Country. His Head is found on Medals.

The Porch of *Verres*'s Gallery was richly embelliſhed with Hiſtorical Paintings, the Spoils of the Temple of *Minerva* at *Syracuſe*, the moſt beautiful ſumptuous Temple in the World. Many famous *Greek* Writers have mentioned it, and they all agree that it was a Miracle of Art. Its Decorations were ſuitable to a Temple of the Goddeſs of Arts: And they were no leſs ſo to a Gallery which

† No. 26. See *Plin.* l. 8. §. 74. l. 35. §. 39.

‖ Viginti ſeptem praeterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas, ex eadem aede iu quibus erant imagines Siciliae Regum ac Tyrannorum. No. 56.

‡ Pugna erat equeſtris Agathoclis Regis in tabulis picta praeclare. No 55.

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which contain'd Maſter-pieces of every Art. In the Middle there was a truly wonderful *Gorgon's* Head, and round it were ſculptured in Ivory various Fables, to a Degree of Beauty and Perfection beyond Expreſſion. * *Virgil* deſcribes ſomething like this in his Plan of a Temple for *Auguſtus*.

In foribus pugnam ex auro ſolidoque elephanto
Gangaridum, faciam, victoriſque Arma Quirini:

Virg. Georg. L. III. v. 27.

Verres had taken from the Gates of this Temple a vaſt Number of large Nails, the Heads of which were of Gold, and had adorned the Ports of his Gallery with them. There was a fine Statue at each Side of the Gate. They were brought from the Temple of *Juno* at *Samos*. And they were probably the Work of *Theodorus* the *Samian*, who was both Statuary and Painter, as *Pliny* tells us. † He is likewiſe mentioned by *Plato* ‡.

This Gallery was enlighten'd by ſeveral magnificent Braſs Luſtres, but principally by a Candleſtick of truly marvellous Workmanſhip, which two Eaſtern Princes had deſtined for the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* at *Rome*. This Temple having been deſtroyed by Lightning, *Quintus Catulus* rebuilt it with ſuperior Magnificence. And the two Princes only waited till the Temple was quite finiſhed

* Ex Ebore diligentiſſime perfecta argumenta erant invalvis; —Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum anguibus, revellit atque abſtulit. No. 56.

† Et tamen indicavit, ſe non ſolum artificio ſed etiam pretio, quaeſtuque duci: nam brillas aureas omnes ex his valvis, quae erant multae et graves, &c.———*Ibidem.*

‡ *Plin.* l. 34. & 35.

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niſhed to conſecrate their Gift. But in the mean time, he who had the Cuſtody of the Luſtre happening to paſs through *Sicily* in his Return to *Commagene* in *Syria*, *Verres* who commanded *Sicily* heard of it, procured a Sight of it, borrowed it, and kept it‖. It was a Preſent worthy of the Princes, and of that Temple which was the moſt auguſt Edifice on Earth, if we except the Temple of the true God.

I imagine I have ſet before this Academy a Collection of Antiquities well deſerving a few Moments of their Attention. If any one ſhould doubt of the extraordinary Beauty of theſe Pieces, let me anſwer firſt, that there is no Reaſon to call in queſtion the exquiſite Taſte of thoſe done by ſuch celebrated Artiſts as *Myron*, *Boethus*, *Praxiteles*, *Silanion*, and *Polycletus*. And as for the other Pieces, concerning the Beauty of which we have only *Cicero*'s Word, may I not ſay it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe he would venture † to give a falſe Repreſentation of things every *Roman* might judge of with his own Eyes. He would thus have brought his Character into Suſpicion, and would have loſt all Credit with his Countrymen in Matters of greater Moment, and of which it is more difficult to form a Judgment.

But had *Cicero* Taſte? Did he underſtand the Arts? His Actions and Writings prove that he was a very intelligent Admirer of them. As to his Actions, 'tis well known

‖ *Plato* in *Jone*.

‡ Cicero in Vertem, 4. N. 48. Candelabrum e gemmis clariſſimis.

† So *Cicero* himſef——Vereor ne haec qui non viderunt omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur. Quod tamen nemo ſuſpicari debet, tam eſſe me cupidum, ut tot viros primarios velim, praeſertim ex Judicum numero qui Syracuſis fuerint, qui haec viderint, eſſe *temeritati* et *mendacio* meo conſcios.

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known how much he preſſes *Atticus* in his Letters to him to chooſe Marbles and Bronzes for him at *Athens*, to be Decorations to his Library. And if we may judge of his Taſte from his Writings, we muſt hold him for one of the moſt underſtanding Lovers of the fine Arts. "I find, "ſays he, that the Statues of *Canachus* are hard and ſtiff. "Thoſe of *Calamis* are not quite lifeleſs, but ſtill they "are too dry." *Myron*'s Works, tho' every thing that came from his Hands is very beautiful, yet they have not all the Truth of Life and Nature *. *Polycletus*'s Statues far ſurpaſs them in that reſpect, and are indeed perfect. It is juſt ſo with regard to the Works of the ancient Painters. *Zeuxis*, *Polygnotus*, *Timanthes*, and all the good Maſters who uſed four Colours only, are admirable for their Drawing and Outline. But in the Pictures of *Echion*, *Nicomachus*, *Protogenes*, and *Apelles*, we find all the different Parts of Painting in their utmoſt Perfection†.

This is the Language of Skill and good Taſte. And I have no Ground to apprehend that it will diminiſh the Value of the things I have been deſcribing to you, if I conclude in the Words of *Terence*, *That* Cicero is *my* Voucher *for what I have ſaid*.

Veſtrum judicium me actorem dedit; ſed hic actor tantum potuit a facundia quantum ille potuit cogitare commode †.

* Cicero de claris oratoribus, ſive Brutus.
† Terent. Prolog. Heautont.

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A

DISCOURSE

UPON THE

MASKS *and* HABITS

USED ON

ANCIENT THEATRES:

Deliver'd to the

Academy of *Inſcriptions* and *Belles-Lettres*,

By Mr. *BOINDIN.*

July 1. 1712.

THEATRICAL Spectacles being in ancient times deſigned for the Entertainment of the whole Body of the People; being exhibited in the Day-time, and in open Air: And there being Seats for all the Spectators, 'tis evident that their Theatres muſt have been much larger than our's, and of a very different Form and Structure,

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Structure, and that their Decorations and Machinery muſt have been contrived in another manner than thoſe in preſent Uſe. This I have made appear in a former Diſſertation upon ancient Theatres.

But what was moſt ſingular in them, and differed moſt from modern Uſage, is the Equipage of the Actors. I am now therefore to diſcourſe to you upon their Habits; upon the Masks chiefly, which they made uſe of, according to the different Genius and Character of the Pieces repreſented.

The latter is the Part of the ancient Theatrical Accoutrements, which hath the leaſt Affinity to thoſe of our Actors, and conſequently it is that to which we are leaſt reconileable. 'Tis not amiſs therefore to ſearch into the Origin of this Cuſtom, which appears ſo odd to us, and to enquire how it came to be introduced upon the Stage; what were its Advantages; and whether the Diſadvantages of it were ſo great as we now imagine. But in order to that, it is neceſſary to give firſt a true Idea of the ancient Masks; for, without all doubt, Masks would have a very diſagreeable Effect at the Diſtance we now ſee a Play acted. And it is perhaps becauſe they have a modern Theatre in their Imagination, that ſome are ſo angry with the Ancients for that Uſage. But ancient Theatres being extremely large, and a great Part of the Spectators being placed at a vaſt Diſtance from the Scenes, Masks may have been not only not diſagreeable, but neceſſary on that Account. And this is what I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew in the Progreſs of this Enquiry.

Let me only obſerve, before I enter upon it, that the Subject is new: No Perſon, I mean has hitherto handled

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it accurately, and to the Bottom. For many have mentioned Masks in general, tranſiently and ſuperficially; but none hath ſo thoroughly examined the Matter as to ſet it in a due Light, and give us a connected Syſtem of this Part of Antiquity.

All we have left to us by the Ancients on this Head, is contained in two Chapters of *Pollux*, the 18 and 19 of his Fourth Book. But what he ſays of Masks and Theatrical Habits, not being ſufficient to give us an adequate Notion of them, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply what is wanting in his Account of them, by laying before you all I have been able to collect upon the Subject from other ancient Authors. And nothing ſhall be advanced for which Proofs are not brought from ancient Theatrical Pieces; from ſuch at leaſt, in which the Manners and Characters are *Grecian*, whether they be written in Latin or in their original Language. For having none left to us that are purely *Roman*, we have no other Way of judging of their Habits, but from the Names *Togatæ*, *Prætextatæ*, and *Tabernariæ*, by which they were diſtinguiſhed.

As the Ancients had in general three different Sorts of Scenical Decorations, for their three different Kinds of Plays, Comick, Tragick, and Satyrick, it was but natural for them to have likewiſe different Habits and Masks for their Actors of theſe three Characters. And that it was ſo in Fact *Pollux* leaves us no Room to doubt. Nay, that they had a fourth Kind for their Muſicians and Dancers is unqueſtionable: for tho' *Pollux* does not mention them, ſeveral other Authors have deſcribed them; and a Model of them is yet to be ſeen on the Reverſe of a Medal of *Nero*,

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Nero, in which he is repreſented in a Theatrical Habit, with a Lyre in his Hand.

Thus, not to mention the whimſical Habits, and extraordinary Masks contrived by the Poets for allegorical Perſonages, or for ſuch imaginary, fantaſtical Chorus's, as many of thoſe yet preſerved to us in the Remains of *Ariſtophanes*; not to mention theſe, the Ancients had in general Theatrical Habits and Masks of four Kinds, ſuited to their Comick, Tragick, Satyrick and Orcheſtrick Repreſentations, and ſo different from one another in Form and Character, that the ſame Actors appeared not only different Men, but Men of a different Species, according to the *Genius* of the Pieces they repreſented.

I ſay, Men of a different Species, for except the Dancers, whoſe Masks were perfectly natural, (tho' their long training Habits were not, in my Opinion, very fit for their Buſineſs, according to our preſent Idea of it at leaſt) all the other Perſonages were very remote from Nature and Probability.

Of the Comick Kind.

Tho' the Habits in Comedy, for inſtance, were not different from thoſe in ordinary Uſe; and tho' the Masks uſed in the *ancient Comedy* perfectly reſembled the Perſons repreſented; yet in the *middle Comedy* they became very different from what they had formerly been; and in the *new Comedy* there was not the leaſt Veſtige remaining of their firſt Form. The Law by which it was prohibited to mark out particular Perſons to View upon the Stage, forced them to invent ſuch ridiculous, abſurd Masks,

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Masks as could not be accuſed of bearing the ſmalleſt Likeneſs to any human Face. And hence it is, that the greater Part of thoſe deſcribed by *Pollux*, are ſo monſtrouſly deformed and ugly.

Of the Tragick Kind.

This was carried yet farther in Tragedy, but for another Reaſon. All the Actors had a Gigantick Air: The enormous Size of their Masks, together with the exceſſive Heighth of their Buskins and their huge, adventitious Bellies, made ſuch an uncouth Combination of artificial, borrowed Members, that the long, training Habits peculiar to them, were really neceſſary to cover it. And all this, according to *Philoſtratus*, took its Riſe from a prevailing Notion, that all the Heroes of Antiquity, *Tydeus* alone excepted, were of a preternatural Bulk and Stature.

Of the Satyrick Kind.

Now to this Miſapprehenſion of the Grandeur of Heroes, in the ancient times, were joined all the other Abſurdities of Fable on the Satyrick Pieces: For in theſe appeared not only Giants and Men of monſtrous Forms, as we may ſee by the *Cyclops* of *Eurypides*, the only Piece of that kind remaining to us, but likewiſe *Silenus*'s, *Faunus*'s and Satires, as the Names of other Pieces ſufficiently prove.

By Conſequence the Habits and Masks uſed in them, muſt have been of a very particular Sort, and quite different from all others; but beſides the general Difference between the Masks and Habits, for Repreſentations of the various Kinds which have been mentioned, there muſt have been a very great Diverſity belonging to each different

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rent Species of them, to diſtinguiſh different Ages, Sexes, and Characters of Perſonages. Now I am to entertain you with ſome Account of all this Variety. But I muſt firſt ſay ſomething of Masks in general, and begin by enquiring into their Origin, Forms and Uſes.

Of Masks in general.

I am not however to ſpeak of any Masks but thoſe of the Theatre; for there were others much more ancient, and of a very different Make. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that Masks were mentioned in the Poems of *Orpheus* and *Linus*, whence we may judge of their Antiquity. On the other hand it is certain, that Theatrical Masks only came into Uſe in the time of *Æſchylus*: that is, about the 70th Olympiad, and conſequently above ſeven or eight hundred Years later. The firſt Masks of which *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks, were not different from thoſe we now uſe; whereas the Masks for the Theatre were a ſort of Head-pieces that covered the whole Head, and repreſented not only the Features of a Face, but the Beard, Ears, Hair, and even all the Ornaments in a Woman's Head-Dreſs.

At leaſt this is the Account we have of them from *Feſtus*, *Pollux*, *Aulus Gellius*, and all the Authors who mention them. This is likewiſe the Idea *Phedrus* gives of them in his Fable of the *Mask* and the *Fox*.*

And it is moreover a Fact which an Infinity of Baſs-Reliefs and engraved Stones put beyond all doubt.

We muſt not however imagine, that the Theatrical Masks had always the ſame Form; for it is certain they

* Perſonam tragicam forte Vulpes viderat. *O quanta ſpecies*, inquit, *cerebrum non habet.* L. 7. f. 7.

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were very gradually brought to their Perfection. All Writers agree, that at firſt they were very imperfect. At firſt the Actors only diſguis'd themſelves by bedaubing their Faces with the Lees of Wine; and it was in that Manner the Pieces of *Theſpis* were acted.

Quæ canerent agerentve peruncti fœcibus ora.
Hor. Art. Poet.

They continued afterwards to make a Sort of Masks with the Leaves of the *Arcion*, a Plant which the *Greeks* called for that Reaſon προσωπίον; and it was likewiſe called ſometimes among the *Latins Perſonata*, as appears from this Paſſage in *Pliny*. *Quidam Arcion perſonaam vocant, cujus folio nullum eſt latius.*

In fine, after Dramatick Poetry was become complete in all its Parts, the Neceſſity the Actors found of imagining ſome Way of changing their Figure and Mien in an inſtant, in order to repreſent Perſonages of different Ages and Characters, put them on contriving the Masks we are now ſpeaking of. But it is not eaſy to trace them to their firſt Inventor; for Authors are divided into various Opinions on that Head.

Suidas and *Atheneus** give the Honour of the Invention to the Poet *Choerilus*, cotemporary with *Theſpis*||. *Horace*, on the other Hand, gives it to *Æſchylus*.

Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
AEſchylus. Art. Poet.

And

* Χοιρίλος Ἀθηναῖος τραγικὸς τῆς σκηνῆς προσωπεῖα πρῶτος εὗρε.
|| Τὶς δε πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκε ἠγνόηται

And *Ariſtotle*, who in all probability muſt have been better inſtructed in this Matter, tells us in the 5th Chapter of his Poeticks, that it was unknown in his time to whom the Glory of the Invention was due.

But tho' we can't preciſely determine by whom this Kind of Masks was invented, yet the Names of thoſe are preſerved to us, who firſt introduced any particular Kind of them upon the Theatre. *Suidas*, for inſtance, informs us, it was the Poet *Phrynicus* who firſt brought a Female Mask into Uſe: and *Neophron* of *Sicyon* firſt introduced one for that Kind of Domeſtick among the Ancients, who was charged with the Care of their Children, from whoſe Appellation we have the Word *Pedagogue*.

Atheneus relates, that it was *AEſchylus* who firſt dared to bring upon the Stage drunken Perſonages in his Καβειροι: And that it was an Actor of *Megara*, called *Maiſon*, who invented the Comick Masks for a *Valet* and a *Cook* *.

We read in *Pauſanias*, that *AEſchylus* introduced the Uſe of hideous frightful Maſks in his *Eumenides*; but that it was *Euripides* who firſt adventured to add Serpents to them.

Maſks were not always made of the ſame Materials. The firſt were of the Bark of Trees.

Oraque corticibus ſumunt horrenda cavatis.

VIRG. Geo. l. 2. 387.

N And

* Αισχύλος δε πρωτος εν τοις καβειροίς εισαγει μεθυοντας. Και Μαισων —— πρωτος εὗρε το τȣ γεράποντος θροσωπον, και το τȣ μαγείρȣ.

And we learn from *Pollux*, that afterwards ſome were made of Leather-lin'd with Linnen or ſome Stuff. But theſe Maſks being eaſily ſpoil'd, they came at laſt, according to *Heſychius* *, to make them wholly of Wood. And they were formed by Sculptors according to the Ideas of the Poets, as we may ſee from the Fable of *Phædrus* we have already quoted.

This is all I have been able to diſcover concerning the Origin of Maſks, and their Make in general. But in order to know their Uſe or Neceſſity, we muſt conſider the different Forms of the ſeveral Kinds of them.

Of the different Sorts of Masks in particular.

Tho' *Pollux* enters into a very long Detail of the Theatrical Masks, yet he only diſtinguiſhes three Sorts; the Comick, Tragick, and Satyrick; and, in his Deſcription, he gives to each Kind as much Deformity as it was poſſibly ſuſceptible of; that is, Features caricatured to the moſt extravagant Pitch of Fancy, a hideous abſurd Air, and a wide extended Mouth, ever open to devour the Spectators, ſo to ſpeak.

But there being upon an Infinity of ancient Monuments, Masks of a quite oppoſite Form and Character, that is to ſay, which have natural and agreeable Faces, and nothing like that large, gaping Mouth which renders others ſo frightful; I was long at a loſs to what Claſs I ſhould refer them; and I have conſulted the moſt Learned in theſe Matters for my Information to no purpoſe: they are ſo divided on this Subject, that I have not been able to draw any Satisfaction from them about it.

Some imagine that they are Masks of the ancient Comedy, founding their Opinion upon this: *That the firſt Masks*

* Ταδε παντα προσωπεια ξυλινα εξιν.

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Masks were not only very natural, but perfectly like to the Persons whose Characters and Manners they were intended to represent. And indeed this Fact cannot be disputed. *Pollux* himself agrees to it, before he speaks of the Masks of the new Comedy *. But tho' the Fact be incontestible, yet the Consequence inferred from it does not follow. For there must have been some Opening in the first Masks, to give Vent to the Voice of the Actors, and those of which we are now speaking have none.

Others struck by this particularity, have fancied they are not Masks, but Representations of real Heads, being persuaded that there were no Theatrical Masks without an open Mouth. But this is the very thing in question; and besides, these Heads have this distinguishing Mark and Characteristick of Masks, the having no Neck. And therefore, no great Stress can be laid on that Opinion.

There is a third Sentiment about them which allows them to be Masks, but will not allow them to be antique; because they have not the Character, they imagine essential to Theatrical Masks, namely the wide opening Mouth they see in others. But this Notion being a Consequence of the same Prepossession; and since the Bas-Reliefs and engraved Stones upon which these Masks are found, have all the Marks of the best Antiquity, it appears to me to be no better founded than the two former.

But if we reflect on the one Hand, that some Authors speak of a fourth Sort of Masks not mentioned by *Pollux*, I mean those of the Dancers; and if we consider, on the other Hand, that in such Masks there was no Occasion for that large Ouverture which rendered the others so deformed,

* L. 4. c. 19.

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med, and which was certainly not given to them by the Ancients, without ſome very neceſſary Reaſon, I am apt to think the Masks in queſtion were of this fourth Kind; and the more I have conſidered them, the more I am confirmed in this Opinion. As probable however as it appeared to me, it was but a Conjecture, and ſome poſitive Authority was wanting, before it could be laid down as Truth: And this is what I have at laſt found in a Paſſage of *Lucian*, which leaves no Room for further Scepticiſm upon the Subject.

It is in his Dialogue upon Dancing, where after having ſpoken of the Uglineſs of other Masks, and of that wide Mouth in particular common to them all, he tells us that thoſe of the Dancers were of a quite different Make, and had none of theſe Deformities. *With regard*, ſaith he, *to the Equipage of the Dancers, it is needleſs to go about to prove its Aptitude and Conveniency; that one muſt be blind not to allow. As for their Masks nothing can be more agreeable, they have not that wide hideous Mouth of the others; but are perfectly natural, and correſpondent to their Uſe* †.

It is therefore unqueſtionably to this Claſs, that we muſt refer the Masks now under our Conſideration. And we can no longer doubt, that there was beſides the three Kinds mentioned by *Pollux*, a fourth, which they called *Orcheſtrick*, and ſometimes mute Masks, ὀρχηστικὰ καὶ ἄφωνα πρόσωπεια.

But

† Sed enim Saltationis habitus quam decens ſit & modeſtus, quorſum attinet dicere cum coecis quoque iſta ſint perſpicua. Larva ipſa pulcherrima & ſubjectae fabulae reſpondens. Non inhumane hiat, ut illae, ſed ſaltationem per omnia convenit——&c. *Lucian* de Saltatione.

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But this is not the only Omiſſion *Pollux* may be reproached with upon the Subject of Masks. Even of thoſe which he mentions, there are three Sorts he hath not diſtinguiſhed, which had however their different Denominations, προσωπεῖον, μορμολύκειον, γοργονειον. For tho' thoſe Names were in Proceſs of Time uſed promiſcuouſly, to ſignify all Sorts of Masks, yet it is probable that the *Greeks* firſt employed them to diſtinguiſh three different Kinds: And we find in Fact in their Pieces three Sorts, the different Forms and Characters of which anſwer exactly to the different Meanings of theſe three Terms.

The firſt and more common Sort were thoſe which repreſented real Life, and they were properly denominated προσωπειον. The two other Sorts were not ſo common; and hence it was that the Term προσωπειον being more uſed, became the general Name for them all. One Sort repreſented the Shades, and being frequently employed in Tragedy, and having ſomething frightful in their Appearance, the *Greeks* called them ‡ μορμόλυκειον. The laſt Kind were contrived on purpoſe to terrify, and only repreſented horrible Figures, ſuch as *Gorgons* and *Furies*, whence they had the Name of γοργονειον.

It is poſſible that theſe Terms did not loſe their original Signification till the Masks had entirely changed their firſt Form; that is, in the Time of the new Comedy: For till then there was a ſenſible Difference amongſt them. But at laſt the ſeveral Kinds were confounded: The Comick and Tragick only differed in Size and in Uglineſs, and

‡ ——————Perſonae pallentis hiatum,
In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans.
Juven. Sat. 3

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and the Dancers Masks alone preserved their first Appearance.

Pollux not only tells us in general, that the Comick Masks were ridiculous, but we learn from the Detail of them he has left us, that the greater Part of them were extravagant to Absurdity. But this we shall have occasion afterwards to shew, in giving an exact Description of all the different Species of them. It is sufficient to observe at present, that there was hardly any of them which had not distorted Eyes, a wry Mouth, hanging Cheeks, or some such other Deformity.

With respect to the Tragick Masks they were yet more hideous; for over and above their enormous Size, and that gaping Mouth which threatened to devour the Spectators, they generally had a furious Air, a threatening Aspect, the Hair standing upright, and a Kind of Tumour on the Forehead, which only served to disfigure them, and render them yet more terrible.

This is the Idea all Authors give us of them. But I shall only bring two Proofs of it; one from a Letter to *Zena* and *Serenus*, falsly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, but very ancient, having been always joined to the Genuine Works of that Father, who died in the Year of Our Lord 154, in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as *Eusebius* says in his Chronology, and not in that of *Marcus Aurelius*, as he has asserted in his History. [But that is a Point of Criticism, the Discussion of which belongs not to our present Subject.] Here is the Passage*:

In

* καθάπερ ὁ λιαν μεγαλόφρονος τον Ὀρέστην ὑποκρινόμενος, φοβερος εἰναι και μεγας παρὰ τοις ἀνοήτοις διὰ των ξυλινων ποδων και παλλαις ἐπιπλαξι, και σολης ἀλλοπότον, και προσωπω τερατωδους ὑπειληπται.

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In like manner as he who rears out with all his Strength in repreſenting Oreſtes, *appears huge and terrible to the gaping Spectators, becauſe of his Buskins with their high Heels, his falſe Belly, his long trailing Robe, and his frightful Mask.*

The other Teſtimony is yet more expreſs and poſitive; for it points out not only the Form of the Tragick-Masks, but the awkward Stature of the Actors, and their Manner of dreſſing themſelves. *Let us conſider Tragedy firſt with regard to its Habits. Can any thing be more ſhocking or frightful? A Man of huge Stature, mounted upon high Heels, and carrying on his Head an enormous Mask, the very Sight of which fills with Dread and Horror; for it gapes as if it were to ſwallow the Spectators. Not to mention his artificial Breaſt and Belly, and all the Arts uſed to make his Shoulders, Arms, Legs, and every Part correſpondent to his exceſſive Stature, that all might be in proportion.* This is a Paſſage in *Lucian*, immediately preceding the other we have already quoted concerning the Masks of the Dancers ‡.

In fine, the Satyrick Sort was the abſurdeſt of them all, and having no other Foundation but in the Caprice of Poets, there were no imaginable odd Figures which theſe Masks did not exhibite: For beſides *Fauns* and *Satyrs*, whence they had their Names, ſome of them repreſented *Cyclopes*, *Centaurs*, &c. In one Word, there is no Mon-

ſter

‡ *Lucian*, ibidem: Porro autem ipſam tragœdiam primum ab habitu contemplemur, cujuſmodi ſit, quam turpe & jucundum ſpectaculum, homo longitudine deformi, altis calceamentis, larva minaci, cum peramplo ore hiante. ——Mitto aſcititia pectora, & ventres factitios, &c.

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ſter in Fable which was not exhibited in ſome of theſe Pieces by proper Masks. And therefore we may ſay, it was the Kind of Dramatick Entertainments in which the Uſe of Masks was moſt neceſſary.

Not but that they were indiſpenſably ſo in Tragedy likewiſe, to give the *Heroes* and *Demigods* that Air of Grandeur and Majeſty they were ſuppoſed to have really had. For it is no Matter whence that Prejudice came; or whether they were really of a ſupernatural Size; it was ſufficient, that this was the received Opinion, and that the People believed it, to make it neceſſary to repreſent them as ſuch: They could not have been otherwiſe exhibited without tranſgreſſing againſt Probability: And, by Conſequence, it was impoſſible to bring them on the Stage without the Aſſiſtance of Masks.

But what render'd it impoſſible for the Actors to perform their Parts without them, was their being obliged to repreſent Perſonages not only of different Kinds and Characters, but likewiſe of different Ages and Sexes; I ſay, different Sexes, for it muſt be remembred there were no Actreſſes among the Ancients: The Female Characters in their Pieces were acted by Men.

This is a Fact I could bring an Infinity of Authorities to prove; but I ſhall content my ſelf with quoting one Paſſage from *Lucian*, and two others to illuſtrate and confirm it. One is, an Account from *Aulus Gellius*, of a Ruſe employed by an Actor of *Athens*, who having loſt his only Son, whom he loved moſt tenderly, and being obliged to act the Part of *Electra* in *Sophocles*, took the Urn, in which were depoſited his Son's Aſhes, with him,

and

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and made uſe of it inſtead of that of *Oreſtes*, to work up his Grief to an extraordinary Pitch of truly natural Vehemence †.

The other is an Epigram in the *Anthology*, upon a bad Dancer, who having repreſented the Fable of *Daphne* and that of *Niobe* both very ſadly, was ſaid to have danced the one like a Log of Wood, and the other like a Stone ‡.

With regard to *Lucian*'s Teſtimony, it is another Paſſage in the Dialogue on Dancing, in which he juſtifies the Dancers for the Cuſtom of putting on Womens Clothes, to repreſent their Perſonages, by ſhewing it was the eſtabliſhed Uſage in the Theatre, and no more than what the other Actors did as well as they. The Paſſage follows immediately after the laſt which was cited from him.

From what hath been ſaid it reſults, that three Things made the Uſe of Masks abſolutely neceſſary on the Theatre. *Firſt*, the Want of Actreſſes to act the Parts of Women. *Secondly*, that extraordinary Size of which Tragick Perſonages were in Poſſeſſion. And, *thirdly*, the very Nature and Genius of the Satyrick Kind.

But, beſides the indiſpenſible Neceſſity of each of thoſe Sorts of Masks in particular; there were ſome general Advantages which accrued from them, all of no ſmall Conſideration. For firſt, as every Piece had its own Masks proper to it, and therefore the ſame Actor could, by changing his Mask, act ſeveral Parts in the ſame Piece, without being perceived to do ſo. The Spectators, by this means, were not cloyed with always ſeeing the ſame Faces, and the Actors

 were,

† Aulus Gellius, L. 7. c. 5.

‡ Δαφνὴν και Νιοβην ὠρχησατο μήμφις ὁ σιμος. ὡς ξυλινος Δαφνὴν ὡς λιθινος Νιοβην.

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were, ſo to ſpeak, multiplied to all the neceſſary Variety, at a very eaſy Rate.

And as they uſed them likewiſe to repreſent the Faces of the Perſons intended to be repreſented, it was a Method of rendering the Repreſentation more natural than it could otherwiſe have been, eſpecially in Pieces where the Intrigue turn'd upon a perfect Reſemblance of Faces, as in the *Amphitryon* and the *Menechmi*.

Now theſe Advantages were ſo conſiderable, that they over-ballanced all the Defects and Inconveniencies attending Masks: For theſe may all be reduced to the following three Points. To the Abſurdity of their Form in general; to the Deformity of ſome of them in particular: and to that Immobility for which they have been ſo often cenſured.

With Regard to the firſt, we muſt diſtinguiſh Times: In the ancient Comedy, not only were all the Masks very natural, but likewiſe perfectly like the Perſons repreſented; ſo that they were far from being abſurd in their Form. If they afterwards degenerated from this primitive Naturalneſs, it is to be imputed to them who abuſed them, and gave occaſion to the Law forbidding to repreſent any particular Likeneſs. And, in changing their Form, the one Kind but became more comical, and apter to excite Laughter; and the other more tragical, and fitter to inſpire with Fear.

With Reſpect to the particular Deformity of ſome Masks, they were of two Kinds: One natural, the Uglineſs of which was owing to real Deformities, diſtorted Eyes, a wry Mouth, hanging Cheeks, &c. The other was artificial, conſiſting in ſuch a Configuration of the Parts

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Parts of the Face, that by turning to the left or right, different Paſſions were expreſſed. The Countenance ſeem'd, ſo to ſpeak, to laugh with one Side, and cry with the other †. The former was in Uſe in all Comedies, and common to all low Characters, ſuch as Valets, Slave-merchants, and Paraſites. The latter, on the contrary, was peculiar to Heads of Families, and to the higher Characters; but theſe were only made uſe of on extraordinary Occaſions, on which it was requiſite all at once to change Faces, as in the unravelling of certain Pieces where the ſame Perſon paſſes, in the twinkling of an Eye, from Grief to Joy, or from Joy to Grief. And as, in ſuch Caſes, the Actors had nothing to do but to turn about, in order to change the whole Face of Affairs, we may venture to ſay, that this Artifice, far from hurting the Repreſentation, contributed to render the Action more perfect, and compenſated or corrected, in a great meaſure, that Immobility, or Uniformity and Unchangeableneſs with which Masks are reproached.

It muſt however be acknowledged, Immobility was the greateſt Fault attending the Uſe of Masks: And it had indeed been an unpardonable one, and very juſtly blamed, as deſtroying the whole Truth and Grace of Action, if the Spectators had been as near to the Actors as we now are. But then Shews being for the People, it was neceſſary that their Theatres ſhould be very capacious; and conſequently a great Part of the Spectators muſt have been

 very

† Pater ille cujus praecipuae partes ſunt quia interim concitatus, interim lenis eſt, altero erecto, altero compoſito eſt ſupercilio.

Quintil. Inſt. Or. L. 10.

Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν πρεσβύτης τὴν ὀφρὺν ἀνατέταται τὴν δεξίαν. *Poll. L.* 4. *c.* 18.

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very far from the Scenes. Even thoſe who were neareſt, were ſeparated from the Stage by the whole Extent of the *Orcheſter*, that is, at leaſt above a hundred Feet, and there were ſome Places at the Diſtance of more than two hundred from the Actors.

Thus it would have been of little purpoſe for them to have acted without Masks; all their Excellence in expreſſing the Paſſions would have been loſt at ſuch a Diſtance; their Features could not have been diſcerned. The Uſe of Masks, on the contrary, in ſome meaſure, made amends for that Defect; it was with the Faces of the Actors then, as it is now with reſpect to the Ornaments on our Scenes, which muſt be magnified in order to have their due Effect at a certain Diſtance. The Repreſentation, to ſay the Truth, was not in general the more perfect on theſe Accounts; but the Fault was not in the Masks. And that is ſufficient to vindicate the Ancients for uſing them.

SOME

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON The ſame SUBJECT,

By the AUTHOR of

The Reflections on POETRY and PAINTING.

IT is not improper to add to this curious Diſſertation, ſome Obſervations upon ancient Theatrical Masks, by another ingenious *French* Author, publiſhed afterwards: *The Author of the* REFLECTIONS *on* POETRY *and* PAINTING.

Æſchylus is ſaid to have firſt introduced the Uſe of Masks upon the Stage into *Greece*. *Diomedes* (*a*) ſays, it was

(*a*) Perſonis vero uti primus coepit Roſcius Gallus praecipuus hiſtrio, quod oculis obverſis erat, nec ſatis decorus in perſonis, niſi paraſitos pronuntiabat. *Diomed.* L. 3.

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was one *Roſcius Gallus* who firſt appeared with a Mask upon the Theatre at *Rome*, to hide an ugly Caſt he had with his Eyes; but he does not tell us when this *Roſcius* lived. Masks are yet in uſe upon ſome modern Theatres. Several Perſonages in the *Italian* Comedy are mask'd. And tho', upon the *French* Theatre, all the Actors were never mask'd, as the ancient Actors all were, yet it is not long ſince Masks were uſed there in Tragedy as well as Comedy; nor are they yet quite out of uſe in the latter.

It is certain that, by the help of Masks, an Actor may aſſume as great a Likeneſs as he pleaſes to the Character he would repreſent. And ancient Actors imagined, that a certain Phyſiognomy was ſo eſſential to every Character, that, to repreſent any one perfectly, they thought it neceſſary to have a particular Mask deſigned for it (*b*). They had great Variety of Masks, and changed them often. And to the Deſcription of the chief Perſonages in a Piece, like what is now prefixed to Plays, under the Title of *Dramatis Perſonæ*, they judged it neceſſary to add Figures of the principal Masks.

Theſe Masks repreſented not merely the Face, but the whole Head, tho' Mr. *Perrault* (*c*) ſeems to have been of another Opinion. That Fable of *Phoedrus* (*d*), in which the Fox, upon examining a Tragick-Mask, cries out, (*Quanta Species ſed cerebrum non habet!*) is well known. Now Mr. *Perrault* makes this Critical Remark upon it.

In Æſop, ſays he, *it is a Monkey, which ſeeing a Head at a Sculptor's Shop, cries out:* What a fine Head! 'tis Pity

(*b*) Major in perſonis obſervatio eſt apud comicos tragicoſque, multis enim utuntur & variis. *Quintil.* L. ii. Pro.

(*c*) Fab. 7. L. 7.

(*d*) Parallele, Tom. 3. p. 30.

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Pity it ſhould have no Brains. *And the Story goes on very well, as Æſop tells it, becauſe a Head is made to have Brains; but there is no Wit in ſaying it of a Mask, or of a mere Face, which is not made to have any. Is there Taſte in thus altering a Fable?* But with all due Reſpect to this Critick, the Masks of which *Phoedrus* ſpeaks were the ſame with the Head in *Æſop*. They covered the whole Head of the Actor, and ſo ſeemed made to have Brains. This one may ſee upon looking into the ancient Manuſcript of *Terence*, in the King's Library, or into Madam *D'Acier*'s *Terence*.

Another Advantage of Masks conſiſted in this, that by the help of them, *Hypolitus*, *Hercules*, and *Neſtor* never appeared upon the Stage but with Heads ſuitable to their known Characters. The Viſages of the Actors were always conformable to their Parts; and thus one never ſaw an old, wrinkled, wore-out Actor, play the Part of a young, freſh, amorous, handſome Gallant; or a Comedian act the honeſt Man with the Face of a compleat Villain. Every Mask, in one Word, expreſſed ſome particular Character in ſo lively a manner, that the Mask no ſooner appeared, than the Character to be repreſented was known. This we learn from *Quintilian* (*a*). And *Pollux* tells us the ſame. The latter ſpeaking of Masks in Tragedy,

(*a*) Itaque in iis quae ad ſcenam componuntur fabulis artifices pronuntiandi a perſonis quoque affectus mutuantur, ut ſit *Niobe* in tragoedia triſtis, atrox *Medea*, attonitus *Ajax*, truculentus *Hercules*. In comoediis vero praeter aliam obſervationem qua ſervi, lenones, paraſiti, ruſtici, vetulae, meretriculae, ancillae, ſenes auſteri ac mites, juvenes ſeveri ac luxurioſi, matronae, puellae, inter ſe diſcernuntur; patet ille cujus praecipuae partes ſunt, quia interim concitatus, interim lenis eſt, altero erecto, altero compoſito eſt ſupercilio. Atque id oſtendere maxime Latinis actoribus moris eſt quod cum iis quas agunt partibus congruat. *Quintil.* Inſt. L. 11. c. 3.

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Tragedy, how they ought to be characterized, ſays that of *Thamyras*, who loſt his Eyes for raſhly daring to compete with the Muſes, ought to have one Eye blue, and another black (*b*).

The ancient Masks were of ſingular Advantage in Pieces where the Intrigue depended upon ſuch a Reſemblance of Perſons as that one of them might eaſily be miſtaken for the other: the Spectators in that Caſe being themſelves apt to confound the one with the other, entred naturally into the Miſtakes of the Actors upon which the whole Plot turned.

Another Advantage of them was, that Men might thus act the Parts belonging to Women, without ſhocking the Spectators. And Women had not ſtrong enough Lungs to make themſelves heard in ſuch vaſtly large Theatres as ancient ones generally were. That Female Characters were often acted by Men, is plain from ſeveral Paſſages of ancient Writers; from what we are told by *Aulus Gellius* (*c*) in particular, of a Comedian named *Polus*, who acted *Electra*.

Another Advantage of them was, that by that means they could repreſent upon the Stage Foreigners of whatever Nation, with their proper Complections and Phyſiognomies.

——— *Ruſi perſona Batavi*
Quem tu derides, haec timet ora puer.

Says *Martial*.

This

(*b*) Onomaſt. L. 4. c. 19.
(*c*) Aulus Gellius, L. 7. c. 5.

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This Cuſtom likewiſe gave an Opportunity to Lovers to make Compliments, and ſhew a good deal of Gallantry to their Miſtreſſes. *Sueton* tells us, that when *Nero* (*a*) mounted the Stage to repreſent a God or a Hero, he wore a Mask which reſembled his own Face; but when he acted a Goddeſs or ſome Heroine, he put on a Mask which was the Picture of the Lady he was then in Love with. *Jullius Pollux* (*b*) who compoſed his Work for the Emperor *Commodus*, informs us, that in the old *Greek* Comedy, when living Citizens were repreſented on the Stage; the Actors wore Masks which portraited the Perſons deſigned to be characterized. *Socrates* probably ſaw his own Figure on the Stage, when he was ridiculed in the *Clouds* of *Ariſtophanes*.

But, on the other hand, this Cuſtom deprived the Spectators of the Pleaſure which the Riſings and Changes of different Paſſions, give by their natural Features in the Countenance. The Language of a Perſon ſtrongly moved by any Paſſion affects us very much, but the Marks of it in his Face move us more ſenſibly. *Dominatur autem maxime vultus*, ſays *Quintilian* (*c*). Now the Ancients were robb'd of all that pathetick Expreſſion which now makes ſo conſiderable Part of our Entertainment, when we ſee a Play well acted. Indeed, where it is the Cuſtom of Actors to paint their Faces, as it is in ſome Countries, there is almoſt as little of this Kind of Action, as if Masks were ſtill in Uſe.

(*a*) Heroum, Deorumque, item Heroidum perſonis effictis ad ſimilitudinem oris ſui, & foeminae prout quamque diligeret. *Sueton.* in *Nero.*

(*b*) Julius Pollux Onomaſt. *l.* 4. *c.* 19.

(*c*) Quintilian, *l.* 11. *c.* 13.

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This, it must be allowed, was a great Defect. Yet it may be said, in defence of ancient Masks, that they did not hide the Eyes of the Actors And the Eye is the principal Actor in the Face: it is it chiefly which discovers the Mind and all its inward Sentiments and Emotions. *Animi est omnis actio, & imago animi vultus est, indices oculi*, says *Cicero* (*d*). When we see the Eyes, Imagination is almost able to supply all the rest that can appear in the Face. And several Passages of *Cicero* and *Quintilian* put it beyond doubt, that ancient Actors expressed all the Passions very strongly by their Eyes together with their Hands, and other Motions of their Bodies. Nor can we doubt of their Testimony, since we may aver the same of the *Italian* Comedians who act in Masks.

I hold however by the more common and simple Opinion, that the greater Part of the Passions, the soft ones in particular, could not be so well expressed by an Actor in a Mask, as they may be by the Face. And therefore I can't but think, the Ancients who had such a Taste for Dramatick Representations, would have laid aside Masks, if they had not had some very good Reason for continuing to use them. Now the Reason seems to be, that on the one hand they lost but very little by the Use of Masks, with regard to the Expression of the Passions, because their Theatres were vastly large, and the far greater Number of the Spectators were at so great a distance from the Stage, that they could not have discern'd any Changes in the Features of the Actors, had they acted without Masks. And

(*d*) *Cicero de Orat.* l. 3. So *Quint.* l. 11. *c.* 3. In ipso vultu plurimum valent oculi per quos maxime animus emanat.

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And on the other hand, the Masks were of uſe to make the Actors heard at an immenſe Diſtance. This Affair requires ſome Explication.

Aulus Gellius (*a*), who wrote under the Emperor *Adrian*, commends the Etymological Derivation *Caius Baſſus* had given of the Latin Word *Perſona*, ſignifying a Mask, from the Verb *perſonare*, which ſignifies to *reſound*. *In fine*, ſays he, *the Actor's whole Head being covered with a Mask, the Voice, which muſt paſs through a very narrow confined Paſſage, being thus conſtrained, made a ſtronger and diſtincter Sound.* And indeed, whatever may be thought of this Derivation of the Word *Perſona*; it is highly probable that the Ancients would not have been ſo fond of Masks, if they had not been of Uſe to ſtrengthen and extend the Voice of the Actors; if they had not made a Sort of Echo. But *Boetius* confirms this Opinion (*b*). For he ſays of Masks, *Concavitate ipſa major neceſſe eſt emittatur ſonus.*

We cannot doubt but Masks muſt have ſome how contributed to make the Actors better heard at a diſtance, ſince theſe two Authors wrote of what they daily ſaw. And my Conjecture about the Matter is, That there was in the Mouth of the ancient Masks ſome Incruſtation which made them have the ſame Effect as a Speaking-Trumpet. It is plain from the Masks yet to be ſeen in ancient Manuſcripts, on Medals and other antique Monu-

 ments,

(*a*) Lepide me Hercules, & ſcite *Caius Baſſus* in libris quos de origine vocabulorum compoſuit, unde appellata ſit *Perſona* interpretatur, a *perſonando* enim id vocabulum factum eſſe conjectat. ——— Quoniam igitur indumentum illud oris clareſcere & reſonare vocem facit, ob eam cauſam *Perſona* dicta eſt. *Noct. Attic.* l. 5. c. 7.

(*b*) Boet. Manſ. de Perſ. cap. pr.

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ments, that the Ouverture of the Mouth was exceſſively large: It was a gaping Mouth that frighted Children.

Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum perſonæ pallentis hiatum,
In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans.
Juv. Sat. 2.

Quintilian, ſpeaking of an Actor called *Stratocles*, ſays; *He adventured to laugh, tho' he well knew for what Reaſons a Laugh had ſo diſagreeable an Effect in Masks.* And this could not happen, unleſs the Mouth of the Mask was lined with ſomething that altered the natural Sound of the Voice, at the ſame time that it augmented it.

I ſhall here therefore risk a Conjecture quite new, which is, that the Ancients, after having made uſe of limber Braſs-plates for lining the Mouths of their Masks, came afterwards to uſe for that Purpoſe thin Pieces of a particular Sort of Marble, as properer than Braſs to ſtrengthen the Voice without altering it to the Diſadvantage. And my Conjecture is founded upon a Paſſage of *Pliny* the Naturaliſt, and one of *Solinus*. *Pliny*, among other precious Stones, mentions one called *Calcophonos* (*a*), i. e. *Sound of Braſs, which*, he ſays, *is black, and according to the Etymology of its Name muſt, when it was touched, have rendered a Sound like that of Braſs. And it is for that Reaſon*, continues he, *Comedians are adviſed to make uſe of it.* But what Uſe could Actors make of it, but to incruſt the Mouths of their Masks with thin Slices

(*a*) Calcophonos nigra eſt, ſed illiſa aeris tinnitum reddit, tragoediis ut ſuadent geſtanda. *Plin.* l. 37. c. 10.

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ces of it? Their Masks, which were made of Wood, as we may learn from these Verses of *Prudentius* against *Symmachus*, were very proper to be lined.

Ut tragicus cantor ligno tegit ora cavato.
Grande aliquid cujus per hiatum carmen anhelet.

Solinus (*b*), who wrote some time after *Pliny*, seems to give us the Reason why that Stone was preferred to Brass for lining the Mouths of ancient Masks, when, after telling us that this Stone resounds like Brass, and has its Name from that Effect, he adds, *That it does no Prejudice to the Clearness of the Voice when it is skillfully used.*

We may judge of the Care of the Ancients with relation to every thing that could contribute to their Pleasure in the Execution of Theatrical Representations, from what *Vitruvius* (*c*) tells us of their Manner of placing *Echœa*, *i. e.* Vases of Brass to make an Echo. Speaking of the Architecture of a Theatre, he enters into a long and particular Detail of the Make and Form of these Vases, and of the propereſt Places for them in the Theatres, to answer their End, which was to be Echo's for the Actors Voices. He describes their Dimensions, and every thing relating to them; and he regrets, that in his time the *Romans* took so little Care to place such *Echaea* in their Theatres, whereas the *Greeks* were very careful to have good

(*b*) Calcopthongos resonat ut pulsata aera. Pudice habitus servat vocis claritatem. *Sol. Ed. Salm.* 6. 37.

(*c*) *Vitruvius*, l. 5. c.. 5, &c. Ita hac ratione vox a scaena, velut a centro, profusa se circum agens tactuque feriens singulorum vasorum cava, excitaverit auctam claritatem & concentu convenientem sibi consonantiam.

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good ones placed in theirs. The *Romans*, it is probable, profited by this Advice of *Vitruvius*, for *Pliny* complains, that theſe Braſs Vaſes, and the Vaults under which they were placed, quite drowned the Voices of the Actors.

He aſſerts that they had the ſame bad Effect with the Sand in the Orcheſtre, *i. e.* With the Diſtance between the Theatre and the neareſt Spectators (*a*). On the other Side, *Caſſiodorus* (*b*) affirms, that the Voice of the Actors in Tragedy being ſtrengthened by certain Concavities gave ſuch a Sound as one could hardly imagine to come from the Lungs of a Mortal. Theſe Concavities could be nothing but the *Echaea* and the Incruſtation in the Mouth of the Maſk which made the ſame reſounding as a Horn. Did the Books of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Rufus*, and other ancient Writers upon Theatres and theatrical Spectacles ſtill ſubſiſt, we would be able to to form a more clear and certain Idea of many Things relating to them than is now poſſible; tho' it is not to be imagined they took the Trouble to give particular and circumſtantiate Deſcriptions of Things their Co-temporaries ſaw every Day. There is a Catalogue of the Books upon this Subject, which are now loſt, in the fourth Chap. of the firſt Part of Father *Boulanger*'s Treatiſe upon the Theatres of the Ancients. But we know enough of them to be able to affirm, that the Ancients gain'd this Advantage by their theatrical Maſks, that they contributed to make their Actors heard by Spectators at a very great Diſtance

(*a*) In theatrorum Orcheſtris ſcrobe aut arena ſuper injecta, vox derotatur et in rudi parietum circumjectu doliis etiam inanibus. *Plin.* l. 11. c. 51.

(*b*) Tragoedia ex vocis vaſtitate nominatur quae concavis repercuſſionibus roborata talem ſonum videtur efficere ut pene ab homine non credatur. *Caſſiod.* l. 1. Ep. 51.

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tance from them. Three fourths of the Audience were too far off to diſcern the Effects of Paſſions upon the Faces of the Players, diſtinctly enough to receive any Pleaſure in that Way. It is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh ſuch Expreſſions at the Diſtance that one may eaſily diſcern the Age and other more marked Features of a Character on a Mask. The Paſſions muſt have been expreſſed with horrible Grimaces to have been diſcernible by Spectators at ſo vaſt a Diſtance from the Stage. And beſides, it ought to be conſidered, that Dramatick Pieces among the Ancients were acted in Day-Light; and intelligent, juſt Action often requires, that the Features which mark a certain Motion of the Mind, ſhould be but juſt diſcernible. This happens in ſuch Situations in particular, where it is proper the Actor ſhould let ſome faint Signs of his Paſſion eſcape him, in Spight of his Reſolution and Attention to hide it.

We have therefore Reaſon to make our Actors perform without Masks; and yet the Ancients were not in the wrong for making their Players act with them.

This ingenious Author, after ſhewing that the ancient Muſick comprehended not only what we now call Muſick, but the Art of reading or reciting Verſes of declaiming and acting, and ſeveral other Arts; for which Reaſon it was defin'd, *Ars decoris in vocibus & motibus:* After having proved this from *Ariſtides Quintilianus* and other ancient Authors, he makes ſeveral very curious Obſervations with regard to dramatical Repreſentations, the Muſick in particular; by which the Comedians were directed and aſſiſted in their Action, which I ſhall but juſt

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juſt mention here, becauſe of the Figure in the ancient Bas-relief now publiſh'd, with the double *Tibia*.

Firſt he obſerves, that to act Comedy, and to act Tragedy, were two diſtinct Profeſſions; and that the ſame Perſon very rarely acted in both. This he proves from a Paſſage directly affirming it in *Plato*'s third Book of his Republick, and from *Quintilian. Inſt. L.* 11. who ſays, *Æſop* declaim'd in a graver Manner than *Roſcius*, becauſe the former betook himſelf to Tragedy, and the latter to Comedy. 2. The Habits, the Maſks, all the Ornaments in Comedy were totally different from thoſe uſed in Tragedy. This he proves from *Vitruvius*, and from ſome Paſſages of certain Fathers of the Church in their Writings againſt Plays. 3. But the Fact he inſiſts chiefly upon is, That the theatrical Declamation of the Ancients was ſet to Muſick as our Operas are. He obſerves, That *Porphyry* in his Commentary upon the firſt Book of *Ptolomy*'s Treatiſe of Harmony, divides Muſick into ſix principal muſical Arts. The *Rythmick*, which taught the Cadence in all Sorts of Motions. The *Metrick*, which taught to pronounce meaſured Compoſitions of all Kinds. The *Organick*, which taught to touch muſical Inſtruments. The *Hypocritick*, which taught the Art of acting by Rules eſtabliſhed upon certain Principles. The *Poetick*, taken in its full Extent, as *Porphyry* expreſly declares, taught the mechanical Part of theſe two Things. 1. What regards the Meaſure in Verſification. 2. The Compoſition of the *Melopee*, or what regards the Recital of Verſes, whether they were to be ſung in the Manner properly called Singing, or to be declaimed. *Porphyry* adds, that thoſe who profeſſed theſe Arts, took the Name of

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of Muſicians. *Ariſtides Quintilianus* who was, as is probable, contemporary with *Plutarch*, gives us the ſame Enumeration of the Muſical Arts, with this Difference, that he divides the *Poetick* into two, the *Poetick* and the *Melopee*. It is no wonder then, to find the Ancients ſpeaking in ſuch ſtrong Terms of the extenſive Utility of Muſick, ſince it comprehended ſo many Arts. The *Hypocritick* Muſick was ſo called, becauſe it was properly the Muſick or Art of Players. The *Greeks* called it *Orcheſis*, and the *Romans Saltatio*. *Ariſtotle* defines Tragedy an Imitation of an Action compoſed in a Language adapted to pleaſe. And he defines this Language adapted to pleaſe, to be a Language which hath *Meaſure*, *Rythmos*, and *Harmony*. He divides the Poets Work into ſix Parts, the fourth of which he calls the *Melopee*, or the Modulation of the Piece. What he calls ſometimes *Melopee*, he calls at other times Muſick. And ſpeaking of the *Melopee* or Modulation, he uſes the Word *Semeia*, which originally ſignifies Signs in general, but was uſed by the *Greek* Writers on Muſick, to ſignify the Characters with which Muſick was wrote. *Ariſtotle*, in another Place, ſays, the Chorus in Tragedy did not ſing upon the *Ipodorian* nor the *Ipophrygian* Mode or Key, as the principal Actors did, at the End of a Scene in particular; becauſe theſe Tones were proper to expreſs the higher and more animated Paſſions of great Characters, ſuch as were repreſented by the principal Actors: But the Actors which compoſe the Chorus, are Perſons of leſs Importance, whoſe Paſſions ought not to be of the ſame Character with thoſe of Heroes. Whence it is plain, that what the Actors recited or declaimed was ſet to Muſick.

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ſick. The ſame Compoſition, which as it was noted on Paper, was called *Melopee*, was named Melody when it was executed. The former was the Melody in Writing, and the latter was the *Melopee* ſung. The *Melopee* or the Melody was a general Term for all Sorts of Singing and compoſed Declamation. This he proves from *Martianus Capella*, *Bryennus*, (an ancient *Greek* Author tranſlated into Latin by *Wallis*) *Porphyry*, and *Ariſtides Quintilianus*.

There was then a *Melopee* which was ſinging, properly ſo called, and another which was nothing but meaſured Declamation or Recital ſet to Muſick. The latter was the Melopy or Melody of Dramatick Pieces. Many Paſſages of ancient Authors prove that the Actors did not ſing, taking that Word in its ſtrict and proper Senſe we now underſtand it in. Our Author cites ſome Paſſages from *Quintilian*, *Cicero*, *Martianus Capella*, and others, to prove this. But their Manner of ſpeaking was a Kind of Mean between Singing and ſimple, familiar Pronounciation: And it was accompanied with Inſtruments. This he proves from ſome Paſſages of *Cicero* concerning *Roſcius*, and from *Quintilian*, who ſpeaks of the Actors having *Tibiæ*, Flutes and other Inſtruments to modulate their Pronounciation in acting: And what we read in theſe Authors is prov'd to our Eyes by a Bas-relief publiſhed by *Bartholin:* the younger, in his Book *de Tibiis veterum*, repreſenting ſeveral Actors; one in a long Robe who appears to be the Maſter, ſeizing his Slave by the Arm, and going to beat him, two others entering upon the Stage, at the Bottom of which there is one ſtanding who is playing on a Flute. The Bas-relief pre-

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fixed to this Diſcourſe ſeems to be another Confirmation of our Author's Opinion, *viz.* That the whole Action was accompanied with a Flute or ſome other Wind-inſtrument comprehended by the *Romans* under the general Name *Tibiae*. Not but that the Action was ſometimes accompanied with ſtringed Inſtruments. We know it was from the ancient *Scholia* upon the *Greek* Tragedians, and from *Plutarch*'s Treatiſe on Muſick; *Horace*'s Art of Poetry ſuppoſes that Cuſtom; and *Dion* tells us, that *Nero* made Uſe of thoſe Inſtruments in acting ſome Tragedies: But they preferred the Wind-inſtruments for accompanying the Actors to all others: And hence we may learn why the Wind-inſtruments uſed in repreſenting *Terence*'s Comedies were mark'd below the Title of each Comedy. It was a neceſſary Inſtruction for the Action. The Flutes were not only changed when the Chorus ſung; but likewiſe very frequently during the Recital. *Donatus* tells us the Ancients made uſe of Flutes called *Tibiae dextrae*, the Tone of which was very proper to accompany the more ſerious Parts of a Dramatick Piece; and of others called *Serranae* to accompany the more gay and pleaſant Parts; and in mixed Pieces conſiſting of Buffoonery intermingled with grave Sentiments, they uſed thoſe different Sorts of Flutes alternately. What *Donatus* ſays in the ſame Place helps to explain a Paſſage of *Pliny*, where that Naturaliſt ſays, "That the *Tibiae Siniſtrae* were made of the "lower Part of the ſame Reed of the upper Part of which "the *Tibiae dextrae* were made." The under Part being thicker than the higher, the latter by Conſequence gave a graver Sound than the former. We learn from *Horace*,

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that the moſt ſimple Wind-inſtruments which could not be heard at any conſiderable Diſtance were uſed at firſt upon the Theatre.

Tibia non ut nunc oricalcho vincta tubæque
Æmula, ſed tenuis ſimplexque foramine pauco
Adſpirare & adeſſe choris erat utilis.

But he adds, that now the Cuſtom was greatly alter'd.

Acceſſit numeriſque modiſque licentia major.

The Art of compoſing the Declamation for Dramatick Pieces was a particular Profeſſion at *Rome*. In the Titles of *Terence*'s Comedies, there is beſides the Poet's Name, and that of the principal of the Actors or the Head of the Troup which repreſented them, the Name of him who had noted the Declamation, *Qui fecerat modos*.

Our Author makes another very curious Obſervation, and inſiſts at great length upon it. Namely, that the Declamation in moſt Scenes of dramatick Pieces was divided between two Actors, one who ſpoke, and another who acted. But how could theſe two have acted in Concert one with another, and with the accompanying Flute, if the whole Performance had not been noted? But I ſhall only add what he obſerves concerning the Flutes us'd in the *Pantomimes*. In theſe Repreſentations, ſays he, they made Uſe of a particular Sort of Flute call'd *Tibia Dactilica*; probably becauſe that Flute came nearer to the human Voice than the others, as our Flute Traverſiere does. He gives us here a very curious Hiſtory

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tory of the *Pantomimes*. The Paſſage he quotes from *Livy* to prove that the Ancients compos'd their theatrical Declamations, ſet them to Muſick or noted them; and that the Declamation was accompanied with Wind-inſtruments, is worth inſerting here. It is an Account of the Origine of Plays at *Rome*. *Et hoc, & in ſequenti anno,* (the Year of *Rome* 391,) T. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio Stolone Coſſ. *peſtilentia fuit, ---- victis ſuperſtitione animis ludi quoque ſcenici, nova res bellicoſo populo (nam circi modo ſpectaculum fuerat) inter alia cæleſtis iræ placamina inſtituti dicuntur. Cæterum parva quoque (ut ferme principia omnia) & ea ipſa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, ſine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones ex Hetruria acciti ad tibicinis modos ſaltantes haud indecoros motus more Thuſco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juventus ſimul inconditis inter ſe jocularia fundentes verſibus cœpere: Nec abſoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res ſæpiuſque uſurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia Hiſter Thuſco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen Hiſtrionibus inditum: Qui non ſicut ante feſcennino verſu ſimilem incompoſitum temere, ac rudem alternis jaciebant: Sed impletas modisy ſatyras deſcripto jam ad tibicinem cantu, motuſque congruenti peragebant. Livius poſt aliquot annos, qui ab ſatyris auſus eſt primus argumento fabulam ſerere, idem (ſcilicet id quod omnis tum erant) ſuorum carminum actor dicitur, cum ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigenti motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari hiſ-*

trionibus

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